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Southern communities are in a period of transition toward an integrated society. It is the choice of every community whether or not this transition will evolve peacefully or whether it will be resisted with violent and tragic results. If the decision for a peaceful transition is made, examples of successful techniques, experiences, and efforts in various Southern cities can serve as guides for other communities.

One of the most successful efforts toward peaceful integration has been the organization of volunteer committees for law and order, usually directed and manned by women. Steps for organizing such a women's group, including selection of chairman and recruitment of members, are outlined. Once organized, it is the task of the committee to inform the public of general purposes and principles. Talks to other organizations, public meetings, advertising compaigns, mail appeals, fund raising dinners, and use of mass media are all suggested and thoroughly explained as methods of implementing the goals and purposes of the committee.

In addition to volunteer women committees, there are other facets of the community population which should assume the responsibility of working toward peaceful integration. The roles of the church, business, labor unions, schools, law enforcement officers, and elected officials are outlined as a guide for helping these groups unite in a community-wide effort for law and order.

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GENERAL GUIDES: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Robi

ED001960

TRANSITION
WITHOUT TRAGEDY

by
Florence Robin

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A Community Preparation Handbook

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

TRANSITION WITHOUT TRAGEDY

A Community Preparation Handbook

by Florence Robin

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

December, 1963

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FOREWORD

Your daily newspaper gives fresh testimony every morning that the South is in transition. Banner headlines tell of race riots, demonstrations, ugly violence--violence that has already permanently scarred the face of Little Rock, New Orleans, Birmingham, Albany.

But sometimes the stories, though less spectacular, are more heartening--law and order preserved in Mobile, Atlanta, Chattanooga.

As thoughtful citizens, we recognize that we are in a period of transition, and that there is no turning back from the orders of the federal courts or the temper of the times.

What is still undecided is how that transition will be achieved. In your community, will it mean rock-throwing, angry mobs, federal troops, panic? Or will it be accomplished with dignity, with law and order preserved, without coercion?

These are the alternatives facing your community. Which path to choose is up to you.

As a parent, you can choose what you want for your child--a playground or a battleground.

As a businessman, you can choose whether you want the violence that might destroy your business, or an atmosphere of good will and confidence that will enhance its growth.

As a citizen, you can choose whether your town will be intimidated by a lunatic fringe of street corner brawlers or given guidance by responsible, respectable community leaders.

The reaction of Southerners to these alternatives covers the spectrum of human emotions. Some are bitterly resentful. Some sigh nostalgically for "the good old days." Some, like yourself perhaps, honestly want to take affirmative action but feel: "What can I do? I'm only one person," or "I have no experience in this sort of thing and I wouldn't know where to begin."

To this last group we would say: the people who have preserved law and order in other communities all over the South are not professional organizers. They are people from all walks of life, from every economic and social level. They are housewives, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, teachers.

They found that common sense can conquer hysteria; that planning can avert violence; that concerted action can win friends and influence politicians. Most of all, they found that through their efforts could come a climate of opinion in which transition could be peacefully achieved and the rule of law could flourish.

The experience of these communities which have already gone through a transitional period--whether school desegregation or opening up public facilities like libraries, buses and parks--is too valuable to be lost. For in that experience lie answers that may save your town the costly process of trial and error. In the problems faced by other communities, perhaps you can discover what techniques will work for you and what mistakes to avoid.

What follows, then, is an outline, with examples, of how transition without tragedy can be achieved.

VOLUNTARY GROUPS FOR LAW AND ORDER

The success story in this period of Southern history is the voluntary committee for law and order, usually directed and manned by women. HOPE in Georgia, Save Our Schools in New Orleans, the Women's Emergency Committee in Little Rock, all began with little experience and less money and scored impressive gains. More recently, groups such as ASSIST in Jacksonville and ABLE in Mobile have worked along the same lines, concentrating chiefly on school desegregation.

First Organizational Steps

Although your original group may be very small--as few as three or four--you should plan your future organization to allow for maximum growth and flexibility. The following steps are essential.

1. Formally create an organization. Consult an attorney about the rules in your state for voluntary organizations. Find out what papers need to be filed at the state capitol. It is important to frame a set of by-laws that will permit you to recruit members, set dues, levy assessments and otherwise raise money, decide policy questions and issue statements in the name of your organization--all with a minimum of red tape. Exhibit 1 might serve as a guide, although you will want to adapt it to your own situation.

2. Recruit members for your executive committee. Of course you will want knowledgeable, hardworking, respected

members of the community. Here are a few special suggestions to keep in mind as you look for executive committee members.

a) Try to get an attorney on your executive committee. His legal advice will be invaluable in getting started and in interpreting court decisions for your members.

b) Someone who is good with words is a big help. It doesn't have to be a professional writer, newspaper man or publicity person; the techniques needed can be easily learned. But a person who likes to write can be useful in framing your position, handling press relations, preparing pamphlets, etc.,

c) If you are dealing with school desegregation, someone with knowledge of the ins and outs of your school system is very useful.

d) Someone with a thorough knowledge of the community--its resources, its administrative set-up. The League of Women Voters, through its "Know Your Town" program, generally has two or three members who are a fund of information.

e) Someone with fund-raising experience. Many men and women in your town have worked hard on the Community Chest, United Appeal, hospital drive, etc. One such person on your executive committee could help get your fund-raising going.

f) Someone with bookkeeping experience to serve as treasurer or financial secretary.

If you can't get all of these types to serve, don't worry about it. For while each one would be a valuable addition, no single one is crucial. And frequently, a dedicated novice can step into a job like fund-raising or publicity and do as creditable a job as someone with many years' experience.

3. Recruit a chairman. Again, you will want knowledgeability and hard work. And you will want to consider the following:

a) She should have the time available to be an effective leader. (I use the word "she" because most frequently it is the housewife, not committed to a regular job, who has enough free time to serve as chairman. But of course a man would be equally satisfactory.)

b) She should have good public presence. She doesn't have to be a professional speaker or to have done lecturing. But she should have that indefinable quality of personal magnetism that makes others listen.

c) Most important of all, she should be respected in the community. This means that she should be well-established--not a newcomer. She should have served effectively in other respected voluntary causes. She should not be embroiled in community controversy. A chairman who has half the town up in arms because she is the leader of anti-fluoridation forces, for example, would impose a fearsome handicap on a new organization.

Now, having painted the picture of an ideal chairman: knowledgeable, hardworking, available, respected, attractive presence and non-controversial, we must admit that this paragon is hard to come by, if she exists at all. So try for a chairman who combines as many of the requisites as possible, realizing if she does not have the time, others on the executive committee can share the burden. If she doesn't have the platform presence or the volunteer experience--these can be learned. What is very important to remember is that your chairman helps create the image the community will have of your organization. And you want to project the idea of level-headed, responsible, middle-of-the-road leadership.

4. Set down a statement of position. Put down what the problem is, what your organization proposes to do about it, who you are, and the need for community support. Exhibit 2 might serve as a guide.

Although subsequent material you issue may be mimeographed, it is best to have this introductory piece printed to create a sense of solidity in your organization. Money for this printing--something like $100 for 2,500 copies--will have to be raised privately, perhaps among executive committee members. If this is more of a contribution than your executive committee members can afford, arrange in advance that a portion (or the total cost) will be refunded after your organization gets fund-raising under way. Or perhaps you can get a printer to give you delayed billing.

Now that you have a formal organization, an executive committee, a chairman, and a statement of position, you are ready to go out into the community to win adherents.

(Exhibit 1 - Page 1)

H O P E, Inc.
(Help Our Public Education)

By-Laws
Adopted Oct. 9, 1959; amended Oct. 19, 1960
by the Board of Directors

Section 1. Name

The name of the organization is H.O.P.E., Inc. (Help Our Public Education).

Section 2. Principles and Objectives

"HOPE, Help Our Public Education, Inc." was incorporated in December, 1958 in Fulton County on the petition of 17 citizens of the State of Georgia. These men and women felt the need for an organization whose specific purpose would be to give direction, guidance, information, and program to all citizens of Georgia who desire to continue the operation of and improve the public schools of this State.

Section 3. Supporters

All persons residing in Georgia who indicate their agreement to the objectives of HOPE, Inc., as stated in Section 2.

Section 3-A. Board of Directors

Section 4. Officers, their election and term of office

A. The officers shall be the ones listed in the charter, or as amended according to Section 10 of the By-Laws.
These officers are (1) Chairman of the Board of Directors, who may or may not be the Chairman of the Executive Committee, (2) Chairman of the Executive Committee, who may or may not be Chairman of the Board of Directors, (3) Vice-Chairman, (4) Secretary, (5) Treasurer.

B. The Board of Directors may remove an officer by majority vote.

C. In the event an officer resigns, or for any reason is unable to serve, the chairman shall fill the vacancy by appointment until the next Board meeting.

Section 5. Duties of Officers

A. Chairman of Board shall preside over all meetings of the Board of Directors and open meetings of HOPE, Inc.

B. Chairman of Executive Committee shall preside over its meetings; shall coordinate the activities of the various standing and temporary committees; shall perform such other duties as the Board may direct.

C. Secretary
The secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee, and shall perform other duties as may be delegated.

D. Treasurer
The treasurer shall be responsible for receiving all monies of the Corporation and for their accurate receipt and disbursements.

Section 6. Meetings

A. The Board of Directors shall meet quarterly: on the second Thursday of January, April, July and October. Special meetings may be called by the chairman, or by five members of the Board.

B. The frequency and time of the Executive Committee meetings shall be left to its discretion, provided that the interval between meetings shall not exceed two months.

C. Committee and sub-committee meetings shall be held as needed, at the discretion of the responsible persons involved.

Section 7. Executive Committee

A. The Executive Committee shall consist of officers of the Board, plus the heads of standing committees, plus the heads of currently functioning important committees by the vote of the Executive Committee.

B. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be to transact business between the quarterly meetings of the Board; to approve plans of standing committee chairmen; to fill vacancies; and to fulfill such other duties as directed by the Board.

C. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall be five.

Section 8. Standing Committees

The number and functions of the standing committees shall be as determined by the Board.

Section 9. Parliamentary Procedure

Roberts Rules of Order, Revised, shall govern all meetings, when the rules are not inconsistent with these By-Laws.

Section 10. Amendments

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Directors upon a two-thirds vote of those in attendance, provided five days written notice has been given on the proposed amendments.

Section 11.

(Duties of standing committees shall be determined by committee chairmen, subject to the approval of the Board of Directors. To allow for flexibility the duties, when approved, shall then be attached as an addendum to the By-Laws.)

Section 12. Board Members from Chapters

Each chapter shall select a director and alternates, who shall be approved by majority vote of the Board.

Section 13. Advisory Board

The Advisory Board shall be appointed upon the recommendations of the Board of Directors, or Executive Committee, or chapter.

(Exhibit 2)

Georgia's Time of Decision Is NOW!

Don't Let a Few Decide for the Many!

HOPE IS

- A state-wide non-profit organization, chartered on December 12, 1958 by 17 concerned parents and citizens "to give direction, guidance, information and program to all citizens of Georgia who desire to continue the operation of the public schools of this state."
- The only rallying point of moderate opinion on the school crisis.
- Supported voluntarily by any citizen who wants to invest in the maintenance and improvement of free education.

"HOPE asserts that public education is indispensably necessary if popular government is to function effectively; if the children of those who are not wealthy are to have a decent opportunity in life; and if our society is to continue to achieve economic progress. For these reasons, HOPE opposes the closing of the public schools of Georgia, and calls on all Georgians to unite in opposition to the closing of the schools."

—James Barrow, Attorney-At-Law, Athens.

HOPE DOES NOT

- Argue the relative merits of segregation, or de-segregation.
- Discuss whether or not the 1954 Supreme Court decision was right or wrong.
- Debate States Rights vs. Federal Rights.
- Advocate *any one* method of compliance.
- And will not at any time participate in action or litigation aimed at closing a public school in Georgia.

HOPE DOES

- Give wide distribution to the facts on the school crisis.
- Point out the high cost of private schooling, and its unavailability to the masses.
- Warn that our state will suffer drastic economic losses, *unless our schools remain open.*
- Work with individuals and groups throughout the state, by furnishing factual material and speakers. (Such work often results in HOPE chapters and committees.)
- Conduct public meetings.
- Stand ready to support any reasonable plan, acceptable to the courts, which will keep the public schools *open.*
- Hold that Boards of Education, Legislators, the Governor and all citizens owe allegiance to the Constitution of the U.S.A. —That we are all first *Americans,* then Georgians!
- Assert that the schools must be operated in accordance with established law, or not operated *at all in Georgia.*
- Believe that each of us has an individual responsibility to let elected officials know *now* where each of us stands: on the side of law, order, and *public schools.*

"In an era in which man has sent a rocket to the moon, it is utterly unthinkable that we could limit the education of our children. I am convinced that the *people of Georgia want public schools.* I am certain that if we remain mindful of the motto of our state: 'Wisdom, Justice, Moderation,' we shall yet find a way to conform to the law of our land and preserve our cherished system of public education."—Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Atlanta.

Exercise Your Right of Citizenship NOW—
Breathe Life into Georgia's Motto—

WISDOM—JUSTICE—MODERATION

(Reverse side of this brochure listed officers, organization's address and telephone)

Getting People Together

All these groups started in a small way. Seven or eight mothers got together at a morning coffee to discuss the coming desegregation of the schools and how it would affect their children. From hundreds such coffees emerges a common pattern of how to start people talking and to enlist support.

1. You know a lot of people--members of your charitable committee, church group, alumni club, sorority sisters, garden club, golf club, your neighbors. Try to get at least six women to come, but don't invite more than sixteen or seventeen or the group will get too unwieldy.

2. At least one of the women present--not necessarily the hostess,who will be busy serving coffee and cookies--should serve as discussion leader. She doesn't have to make a formal speech--on the contrary, she should try to be as relaxed and spontaneous as possible--but she should be fully briefed and ready to answer questions. One other person, or two if the group is large, should be fully briefed, too, in order to keep the discussion on the track and to ask questions that will cover material not already discussed by the leader.

3. The discussion leader should explain in simple language exactly what the present legal situation is and why it is so urgent; that unless action is taken your community may be faced with closed schools, violence, or federal troops. Enlist the aid of your volunteer attorney and make sure you have all the facts straight.

4. Make it perfectly clear that your purpose is not to promote the pros or cons of integration vs. segregation. You

want the broadest possible base--everyone who agrees that law and order must be preserved. Theoretical discussions of moral rights and wrongs will alienate more people than they attract.

5. Explain what an organization like yours can do to insure peaceful transition. Explain who you are and what plans you have and how your guests can help. If the atmosphere seems appropriate, ask each person to contribute a small sum of money--a dollar or two--to undertake a specific project.

6. Leave time for a question and answer period. Try to get each person present to talk, but don't urge anyone who seems especially shy or unwilling. Ask everyone to talk about your new organization to their friends and to give you the names of any prospective members.

7. Get the names, addresses and telephone numbers of everyone who comes. You might give each guest an index card to fill out on which she would also list what tasks she could undertake: publicity, mailings, telephoning, etc..

8. Give each person a fact sheet (Exhibit 3) about the current position and the necessity for action and a brochure about your new organization.

9. Ask those new people present who show any interest to give coffees for their own friends, promising to supply the discussion leader, the resource person and the printed material.

10. The whole coffee, including refreshments, should not run more than an hour and a half.

What follows might serve as a rough outline of how a discussion leader goes about introducing her subject (Exhibit 4). Of course, you would want to adapt it to your own special needs.

A later section deals with some of the questions frequently asked at coffees and other gatherings, and what answers have proved most effective.

(Exhibit 3)

SCHOOL CRISIS 1961

WHY DO WE HAVE A CRISIS?

LAWS IN CONFLICT

United States Constitution

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; . . .nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

U. S. Constitution, 14th Amendment

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated ... are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

United States Supreme Court, May 17, 1954
Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas

"This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all Treaties shall be the Supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

U. S. Constitution, Art. 6, Sec. 2, Par 1

Georgia Constitution

"All citizens of the United States, resident in this State are hereby declared citizens of the State, and it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to enact such laws as will protect them in the full enjoyment of the rights, privileges and immunities to such citizenship."

Georgia Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 1, Par. 25

"The provision of an adequate education for the citizens shall be a primary obligation of the State of Georgia, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation. Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

Georgia Constitution 1945, Art. 8, Sec. 1, Par. 1

"Legislative acts in violation of this Constitution, of the Constitution of the United States, are void, and the Judiciary shall so declare them."

Georgia Constitution, Art. 1, Sec. 4, Par. 2

THEREFORE:

The Constitution of the United States, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, is the law of the land and state laws that are in conflict are unenforceable. Any public school system must now recognize that the state cannot by law enforce racial segregation in the schools.

The Sibley Report p. 6

WHY IS THERE A THREAT NOW?

The Federal Court for the Northern District of Georgia in 1959 declared that segregation as practiced in the Atlanta School System was illegal and must cease. It ruled that the Atlanta School Board must submit a plan for desegregation.

The Court accepted and approved the plan on January 18, 1960. Applications for tranfer of negro pupils will be received between May 1 and May 15, 1961 for the 11th and 12th grades. Thereafter one grade a year shall be open for desegregation.

The Atlanta School Board plan has 18 standards for assignment. These include geography, curriculum, academic record, aptitude, psychological qualifications, morals,conduct, health, and the effect of new pupils on academic standards, other pupils and teachers. It also provides for tests, interviews, investigation and hearings.

"It is further ordered, however, that the motion for further relief be granted to the effect that said plan shall be effective as of May 1, 1961, looking toward the operation of the school system for the session beginning in September 1961."

Order of the Court, Judge Frank Hooper May 9, 1960
United States Federal District Court, Northern District of Georgia.

"This Board has the inherent power of pupil placement. To insure orderly procedures of uniform application for pupil assignment, tranfer, and/or placement, and to enable the continuing improvement of the educational advantages offered the following rules and procedures shall be followed ... Student assignment in the Atlanta Public School System shall be made in accordance with aforesaid rules and regulations and without regard to race or color."

Atlanta Board of Education Plan for Desegregation
approved by the Court January 18, 1960

THEREFORE:

Atlanta must start its desegregation plan in May 1961

WHY IS THIS A LAST CHANCE LEGISLATURE?

"... The last chance that I think this court can give ..."

To postpone the order to desegregate until May 1, 1961 will give the Georgia Legislature just one chance to prevent the closing of Atlanta Public Schools.

Statement by Judge Hooper May 9, 1960

WHY IS THIS A THREAT TO ATLANTA SCHOOLS?

The Governor "shall" close schools in a district if they are not segregated.

The Governor has the sole authority to ascertain if schools are not entitled to state funds (only segregated are entitled to funds). If not he "shall" by executive order provide for the closing of such schools.

Georgia Laws 1956, p. 6

The Governor as "conservator of the Peace" may close any school in any district of the state (including any school, branch or department of the University System) in order to preserve the "good order, peace, and dignity of the State".

Georgia Laws 1959 p. 15

Funds are cut off:

Georgia Law forbids funds to maintain or pay officials, teachers or employees for any but a segregated school.

Georgia Laws 1955 p. 174

Georgia Law makes it a felony (punishable by not more than or less than 2 years in the penitentiary) for any offical of the state, county or city to give money to integrated schools.

Georgia Laws 1955 p. 174

THEREFORE:

To integrate Atlanta Schools without action by the Legislature "could mean but one thing: that is the closing of Atlanta Schools."

Statement by Judge Frank Hooper May 9, 1960

WHY IS THIS A THREAT TO ALL GEORGIA SCHOOLS?

Because If a State provides for one it must provide for all.

It is an unconstitutional discrimination against taxpayers who pay taxes and yet do not have public schools. The Court ruled no one public school or grade in Virginia may be closed while the State permits other public schools or grades to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers.

James vs. Almond, U. S. District Court, Eastern District, Virginia, Norfolk Division, January 19, 1959

"It must be assumed that a similar suit would be filed by Atlanta parents, and that a similar ruling would follow ... Under such a holding the state would be faced with the necessity for deciding whether to close all the schools of the state,... or to accept integration of Atlanta Schools."

The Sibley Report p. 6

THEREFORE:

The closing of Atlanta Schools would, under application of the principles of law in the Virginia case, result in the closing of all public schools in Georgia.

Opinion filed by Judge Hooper Sept. 8, 1960

IS THERE AN ANSWER?

YES

On April 28, 1960 the General Assembly Committe on Schools (The Sibley Committee) presented its analysis of the situation and recommendations to the Legislature.

THE MAJORITY REPORTED THAT:

Those who insist upon total segregation, but who back away from closing the schools, are not only deceiving themselves and the people, but are creating a very difficult and harmful situation. p. 15

If the schools are closed it should be with the expectation that it will be permanent, not for a short time. To close the schools temporarily is a useless gesture and can cause nothing but confusion, great economic loss, and utter chaos in the school system. p. 14

The basic alternatives to closing the schools are: 1. give local authorities control of placing students, 2. give as much "freedom of choice" as possible to parents and local communities, 3. give "assurance that no child will be required to go to school with a child of a different race except on a voluntary basis." p. 12

Pupil Placement is that plan by which local school boards can place a pupil in a school according to place of residence, level of intelligence, educational attainments, home environment, physical condition, student's fitness and ability to do successful work in a particular school, and relationship to the students in school, but without reference to race or color. p. 12

To put these alternatives into effect would mean some changes in the Georgia Constitution, which would have to be voted on in a general election. p. 15

THEREFORE:

THE MAJORITY RECOMMENDS THAT:

1. A Constitutional Amendment be proposed to the effect that no child shall be forced into a school with a child of the opposite race, and that the child whose parents object to an integrated school be entitled to reassignment, tuition grants or scholarship aid. p. 17

2. A Constitutional Amendment be proposed to provide for a uniform system of local units for the administration of the schools, and to allow any such unit to close schools within the unit or to reopen the school in accordance with the wishes of the majority of voters. p. 17

3. The General Assembly pass laws for tuition grants or scholarships for students who wish to withdraw from an integrated school or whose school has been closed. p. 17

4. The General Assembly pass laws to have teacher retirement cover private school teachers as well as public school teachers. p. 18

5. The General Assembly decide whether to close the schools or to give as much freedom of choice as possible through 1. pupil placement, 2. empowering the people of each community to vote whether to close their schools in the event of integration or to continue the operation of their schools, and 3. enabling each parent to be able to ask for reassignment or withdrawal with tuition grants or scholarship aid for private education. p. 18

THE MINORITY RECOMMENDS THAT:

1. Constitutional Amendment be proposed to guarantee that no child be forced to go to an integrated school.

2. The General Assembly provide for tuition grants by state, county and municipal funds.
3. Schools should be kept segregated as long as possible then resort to tuition grants.
4. The Governor and the General Assemblv should take such action and enact such laws as may be required from time to time.

Minority Report p. 6 & 7

WHAT ALTERNATIVES ARE THERE?

WAIT AND SEE

Atlanta must desegregate by September 1961 and, if the laws are not changed, Atlanta schools will be closed and the rest of the schools in Georgia threatened.

Opinion by Judge Hooper, filed Sept. 8, 1960

Why wait for a called special session of the Legislature that cost $30,000 - $35,000 a day?
Will this help the peaceful solution?
Did it help the peace or the solution in Louisiana?
Why continue the confusion that hurts the schools and the economy of Georgia?

If the State stands upon present laws yet thinks it can avoid closing all the schools, the result will be integration in its worst form; coercive integration by court order with no local safeguards for the people.

The Sibley Report p. 15

CLOSED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The conclusion is inescapable that, to maintain total segregation everywhere in the state, the state will have to withdraw from the operation of public schools. The Sibley Report p. 10

What happens to 1,000,000 public school students in Georgia?
What happens to 2,752 public schools?
What happens to 50,000 public school teachers and employees?
What happens to $200,000,000.00 dollars owed on school bonds?
What happens to $365,000,000.00 invested in school buildings?
What happens to the economy and growth of our State?
What happens when a $300,000,000.00 a year business is shut down?
Figures from the League of Women Voters

On August 27, 1960 a three judge Federal Court in New Orleans, Bush vs. Orleans Parish School Board et al, declared invalid Louisiana law which gave the Governor the power to close any school in the state ordered to integrate. footnote to Opinion by Judge Hooper filed Sept. 8, 1960.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

It would be impractical to develop a system of private schools that would provide adequately for the educational needs of the whole state.

The Sibley Report p. 11

Public Schools cost $241.00 per pupil per year.
The State pays 72% of the school costs.
Cities and counties pay 23% of the costs.
Georgia private schools cost on an average of $585.00 a year per pupil.
Figures from League of Women Voters.

A great many Georgians cannot afford the luxury of a private school.

Statement by Judge Hooper May 9, 1960

WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER?

A responsibility of citizenship is that we make known our opinions to our elected officals.

SILENCE WILL NOT SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

Reprints may be ordered, 2c each, from HOPE — Athens, Box 741, Athens Georgia

(Exhibit 4 - Page 1)

SUGGESTED OPENING REMARKS FOR A COFFEE, TEA, OR SMALL EVENING GROUP

From all the talk over this delicious cake and coffee, I can see that you've all been reading the papers and are as concerned as I am about what's going to happen this fall when school opens.

IDENTIFY YOURSELF

A group of us--Betty Jones, who's on the Hospital Board, and Mary Smith, who's so active in the PTA, and Jane Brown, you know, she's President of the Junior Assembly--were talking about it last week and wondering what we could do about it.

WHAT THE PROBLEM IS

We were appalled at the thought that the schools might close--I would have four youngsters under foot and I don't think I could last a week. Even worse, the schools might open all right but there would be violence and our children might get hurt. So we thought we might get together with other mothers, as they've done in Atlanta and Mobile and other places, and see if there wasn't some way out.

WHAT THE LEGAL SITUATION IS

You probably read the other day that Judge ______ of the Court of Appeals has ruled that the first two grades of elementary schools must be integrated by ____, or words to that effect. Now I've checked with Don Brown, Jane's husband, who's a lawyer, and he tells me that (state the legal position fully but in simple language). So you can see just how urgent the situation is.

WHAT OUR GOAL IS

This means that between now and ________ we've got to convince everyone that the people in this town want their public schools open. It means we must convince them that appropriate steps have to be taken by the school system to prepare teachers and administrators to accept desegregation and work toward making it calm and peaceful inside the schools. And the police must be prepared to prevent trouble outside the schools.

NO SEGREGATION VS. DESEGREGATION

Before I go any further about how we plan to accomplish this, I want to make one thing perfectly clear. We haven't asked you here to change your mind about how you feel about segregation or desegregation. That's not our job. Some of the women who are interested in our group frankly dislike the idea of desegregation and wish the whole thing would go away. Others feel that in the long run it will work out, but they wish it didn't have to be just yet. Still others think it is long overdue. But no matter how you feel, I think we can all agree that we want to protect our children from harm and preserve our public school system. And that's all we want to talk about today.

Well, what can we do about it? I think the first thing we must do is let everybody know just what the situation is. You'd be surprised how many people still think that if they just ignore the problem it will disappear. You've heard the kind of thing they say: "It'll be years before we have to do anything--you'll see--the lawyers will get another delay." Or, "The state constitution forbids desegregating the schools, the governor's office has it all figured out, so what's all the excitement about?"

WHAT WE CAN DO

So our first job is to dispel this self-deceiving apathy. You and I know that all the legal hocus-pocus in the world isn't going to stop the inevitable. It hasn't worked anyplace else in the South and it's not going to work here.

APPEAL TO CIVIC PRIDE

Once we can get through that apathy, we'll be able to reach people, because most people here really care about this town. You can tell they take pride in it from the way the've helped it grow. (Get figures from League of Women Voters or Chamber of Commerce on growth of population, industry, schools. Not too many, just enough to give a general idea. If your town has lost industry and population, this point can be turned around: We've had special problems here that we're working so hard to solve. Just as we're beginning to see daylight, it would be disastrous for us to be dealt the coup dē grace because of closed schools or racial violence.)

With Don Brown's help, we've gotten out a mimeographed fact sheet that tells just what our situation is and we want to distribute it all over town. We've already gotten permission from Dr. ______ of the ______ Church to leave them in the church vestibule and Helen White is giving them out at her YWCA. Hundreds more will be distributed at the Friday night meeting of the City Club. But we need much wider circulation, and if any of you know of other appropriate places they could be distributed, it would be most helpful.

Also, we've gotten up a little leaflet telling how our group was formed, who's in it, and what we want to do. Betty will see that you each get a copy to take home and even if you can't give them out in great quantities, you'll be able to show them to your friends and neighbors.

We have so much to do and so little time. We need to get the facts before every business and civic group in town. We'd like to see them and every voluntary association pass a resolution calling for law and order and protection of our children and schools. We'd like to get every single parent to sign a petition calling for the same thing. And then we want to take all the petitions and resolutions and statements to the City Council to show them that the responsible people in this town are behind law and order. We've got to do all this in __________ short weeks.

HOW YOU CAN HELP

I know we can do it, but we need your help. We need your energies and ideas, your skills as speaker, hostess, writer, envelope stuffer or any other function you care to contribute. Betty has already passed around the little index cards for your name and address and you'll see there's a space for you to fill in your special interests. And needless to say, we need your financial help, too. Just a dollar from each of you would make it possible to mail our fact sheet to every registered voter in town. If you can help us with this important project, please give your dollar to Betty.

If any of you would like to give a coffee such as this--it doesn't matter if you invite as few as six people or as many as sixteen--we'd be delighted to come and talk to your guests and answer any questions you have.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

And I think that's an appropriate cue for me to answer any questions you have right now. (If questions don't arise spontaneously, your resource person should start the ball rolling with a prepared question of general interest.)

LETTING THE PEOPLE KNOW

Once your organization is past the embryonic morning coffee stage, your chief task is to get out into the larger community and let everyone know the facts about:

- what the crisis is about
- what each citizen's stake is, whether civic leader, businessman, housewife
- what each citizen can do about it
- who your group is and why your efforts deserve support.

The quickest way of reaching the largest number of people is through the mass media--newspapers, radio and television. A latter section deals specifically with this aspect of public relations.

A second way of getting your message across is through mailings. This method has so many variations and is so inextricably bound up with fund-raising that it, too, is dealt with in a separate section.

This section is concerned with:

1. talks to other organizations
2. public meetings
3. special events
4. tags, buttons, bumper stickers, etc..

Talks to Other Organizations

Many clubs welcome suggestions for program material. You can supply that need by starting a speaker's bureau and seeing that every volunteer in it is thoroughly briefed.

Recruit speakers from among your members and their husbands and among people whose everyday jobs make them good speakers--high school and college teachers and lawyers are obvious choices. If there is a college in your community, the students in the speech department, drama department, or on the debating team would make promising volunteers.

Circularize every civic, fraternal, business, women's, and church group in town and draw up a schedule or chart of when they meet, how many members and what their interests are. (This information will prove useful for a variety of reasons.) Then ask them to schedule a program and offer to supply a speaker. If they prefer their own speaker, offer a speech outline and background material.

Obviously, you will want to pitch your remarks to the interests of the group. If they are businessmen, concentrate on the economic losses that inevitably follow violence; if parents, on the dangers to their children's education; if civic leaders, the appeal to civic pride and enhancing growth. If there are politicians in the audience, stress the kudos which can come by handling matters successfully locally without outside intervention. Point to some specific action the group can take.

Public Meetings

Let us assume that you now have enough support to stage a public meeting. Such a meeting serves the following functions.

1. It reaches a wider and more varied audience than small coffees.

2. It can bring out into the open, and thus dispel, the fears and questions of the audience.

3. It helps create a band-wagon psychology: "If all these people are for this, then it must be right and maybe I should join in."

4. It demonstrates to the public and to public officials who you are and how widely your cause is supported.

5. A good speaker will lend a sense of urgency to your activities and open up vistas of future success.

6. It makes a legitimate news story.

But if the benefits of a public meeting are great, the pitfalls are proportionately greater. An unsuccessful coffee can be unfortunate; an unsuccessful public meeting can be a catastrophe. Careful planning before, during, and after the meeting is essential.

1. Planning the meeting.

a) Pick a date. Make sure there is no other big event on the same day. Make sure it is not a holiday which will keep people away: Mothers' Day, Washington's Birthday, etc.. Ask other organizations not to set important meetings on this day.

b) Get the place. Try to get a centrally located church or hall. If you think you can get 300 people to come, do not get a place which seats 500. Empty seats are terrible for morale.

300 people in a room seating 500 is a disaster. The same 300 in a room which seats 250 is a triumph.

c) Get attendance. Invite people early and often. Send a letter to every single person who has attended your coffee, signed your petition. Use every list you have compiled. Then send a follow up letter to the same list. Finally, a few days before the meeting, if you can afford it, send a post card.

Have a telephone squad. Each person calls five people and asks them in turn to telephone five more.

Get a story printed in your newspaper (see section on mass media).

If radio stations broadcast a local community calendar, have your meeting announced over that.

Ask other organizations to announce the meeting at their meetings and in their newsletters and bulletins.

2. Just before the meeting.

a) Let the police know the time and place of your meeting and request assistance in directing traffic. The presence of police will stop the antics of any potential rowdies or crackpots before they begin.

b) On every seat, place a fact sheet, some information about your organization, a card or coupon which will get every member of the audience's name and address and, if possible, a pledge card.

c) Make sure your hall is sufficiently ventilated in summer and adequately heated in winter. A smoky, airless room is soporific and a chilly one is infuriating. No speaker should have to contend with such handicaps.

d) Make certain there are at least six or seven people in the audience who are thoroughly briefed. During the question period they should be ready to ask questions to cover material not previously mentioned. They can counter hostile questions with sympathetic ones and in general keep the question and answer period on the track.

3. During the meeting.

The chairman of the group should welcome the guests and explain briefly what the group is, what they have already accomplished and the tasks that lie ahead. Remember, briefly. A public meeting is no place to go into organizational minutiae. Whatever announcements he (or she) makes should be pertinent to the business at hand. If cards have to be collected or material passed, see that there are enough volunteers as aides or ushers so that it does not become a major, time-consuming operation.

The chairman, or, if possible, some leading civic figure, should then introduce the speaker. Your speaker will want to adhere to these basic rules of successful speaking on peaceful transition.

a) You must generate confidence and authority. To help overcome nervousness, you may want to stand behind either a table or rostrum. Plan carefully the points you want to cover, but be flexible. By watching your audience, you can beam your talk to their interests. Make your base of appeal as broad as possible.

b) Never get angry. Emphasize your position, don't retreat and don't argue. Never become personally involved with hecklers; never let a general discussion turn into a dialogue on the heckler's terms. The resouce people in the audience, mentioned above, can be used to cut a heckler off. Ask "Does anyone else care to comment?" and then recognize one of your people. Other resource people can ask the right questions and get the discussion back into channels.

c) Watch your language. Certain words have strong emotional overtones and should be avoided. Desegregation is a better word than integration because the former means a removal of barriers only while the latter is more strongly charged. "Transition" is a better word than "change" because it is more neutral. As noted before in the pages on coffees, don't allow yourself to be drawn into a discussion of the relative merits of segregation vs. integration.

d) Always leave time for questions. It gives you a chance to find out what is in your audience's mind and to correct any misconceptions. Be polite but firm in controlling discussion: "I would like to talk more with you about this, but we'd like to hear from others, too. Perhaps we can discuss it further after the meeting."

e) Speak to legitimate fears. A question on intermarriage, for example, may be asked to cause trouble. But treat it as an honestone. Many people in the audience may have real fears on the subject and those fears must be dissolved. A possible answer might be along these lines:

"During slavery days, when the Negro was not a free agent, there was more miscegenation than there has ever been since. It is demonstrably true that as the Negro wins more control over his destiny, miscegenation decreases.

"It makes no difference whether a community has desegregated schools and facilities or segregated schools and facilities, or for how long either conditions have prevailed. It is demonstrably true that the amount of intermarriage in either type of community is so far below .01% of the total marriage rate as to be statistically incalculable.

"Part of the reason for this is that Negro parents desire the same things for their children as we do and are therefore just as opposed to intermarriages as we are."

And, you may want to add: "In the final analysis, however, marriage is an intensely personal matter which must be left to the individuals involved."

This should settle the matter. If it does not, either call on a resource person, or say, "That goes right back to what I was saying," and get back on your subject, no matter how unrelated it may be.

f) The charge of communism. Be firm and tough. You will not satisfy the trouble-maker who raised this question with your logical answer, but it may reach others in the audience. You might want to reply like this:

"I am not a communist and no member of this organization is a communist. If you know anything at all about communism, you know that their chief propaganda weapon in this country is dissension, fear and violence. Communists used stories of riots in places like Birmingham and Little Rock all over the world. It helps them in Cuba and South America and Asia. Our group is working to prevent violence and stop this kind of propaganda. By working for law and order, we are performing the most useful service for our country that there is for democracy and against communism.

"Our group's only purpose is to see to it that our town continues to grow and prosper in an atmosphere of law and order. We are working to strengthen democracy through democratic means."

Then go on to something else. Once in a great while, the questioner will make a direct charge of communism against you or the group. Come down hard and say:

"The courts have ruled that it is slanderous to call a person a communist before witnesses and libelous to do so in print unless you have proper evidence. If you have such proof about me, I challenge you now to make your charge before these witnesses." That should end the discussion.

g) Answering other difficult questions. Never try to convince anyone of anything you don't believe yourself. If it's a far out question like: "What will happen ten years from now?" say: "I don't know what will happen either, but the main thing now to remember is..." and get back on more realistic ground by focusing on school desegregation, readiness and the need for community unity.

Questions about health in desegregated schools represent honest, if uninformed, fears. Stress the fact that the Negro children selected will have to meet the same health standards as the white children. Suggest that if the school system does not require a medical and dental certificate from each child at the beginning of the school year, it should institute this practice in all schools, segregated or desegregated. While it is true, you might point out, that the lower the economic level, the greater the incidence of certain diseases, this is true regardless of race.

Fears that academic standards will be lowered by desegregation are also common. You might point out that one way to prevent the lowering of standards is to make sure that the atmosphere is calm and that everyone is sufficiently at ease to do his best work.

Also mention that where schools have been completely desegregated, the standards have often risen. The most telling point to make is that the all-white school systems in some southern states--Virginia, for example--lag far behind the desegregated systems of Pennsylvania in standards of work, curricula, college admissions, accreditation--in fact, on every level. Standards depend not on segregation or integration, but on how much the state and community is willing to invest in education, teacher's pay, textbooks, libraries, and the like. Any steps which reduce the costs of maintaining a dual system will tend to release more funds for raising academic standards.

Some recently desegregated school systems have adopted the four-track system and found solutions to problems which existed all along but which, prior to desegregation, they had chosen to ignore.

This question about school standards is the one most frequently asked and it is well to be thoroughly informed.

If you're a fairly recent arrival in town (in the South, that's forty years or less) and people say: "You're not a native Chattanoogan (or Mobilian or Mississippian or Southerner) so you don't know how we feel..."

Be tactful and truthful. "I know I can't appreciate the depth of your feeling, but I love ____________ and I don't want to see anything happen to hurt it." Or, "My children were born here and go to our schools and I want to be sure they get the best education." Or, "While we haven't been here a very long time, ____________ is such a wonderful place to live that I really feel much more at home here than I did back in _________."

Another frequent gambit is: "We haven't had any trouble here so far. All you're doing is stirring things up." You might respond by saying:

"We hope very much that there won't be any trouble here, but we can't afford to take the chance as they did in Little Rock. We have to work for more than just resentful acceptance. Resentments can smoulder for a long time and flare into violence at the slightest provocation. With good community planning, we can make this whole experience a positive step forward."

4. After the meeting.

a) Add all the cards you have collected to your mailing list.

b) Prepare an abstract of the speaker's remarks and release them to the press as a follow-up story.

c) The abstract of the speaker's remarks and the newspaper story on it might make a good follow-up mailing as an appeal for funds, along the line that you would like to have more of these successful meetings if the money were available.

d) Be sure to write to the speaker, and all the volunteers who served as ushers, publicity people, resource people--in fact, everyone who worked on the meeting. If volunteers don't receive concrete recognition of their efforts, their morale will suffer and so will the organization as a whole.

Special Events

Your community has more resources than you may think to assist you in getting your message across.

1. Do you have a Little Theatre group in town? Ask them to put on a playlet or reading for meetings of civic clubs to dramatize in a different way how peaceful transition can be achieved.

2. Most towns have at least one women's group that stages a fashion show. Why not suggest that this fall they do a special "Back to School" fashion show, combining chic clothes with a witty commentary on school desegregation.

3. Can your League of Women Voters put on an evening panel show, getting an educator, a police officer and perhaps an editor to tell you what they plan to make transition peaceful? The League in Georgia combined with the United Churchwomen of Georgia to sponsor four Open School panels, presenting an educator, a legislator and civic group speakers. This series enabled HOPE to issue a special newsletter publicizing the meeting and getting other parts of the HOPE message across (Exhibit 5).

4. Do you have an annual fair in your locality? The Gulf States Fair and the Southeastern Fair are two of the biggest, but there are innumerable small summer and fall fairs where you could set up a booth with an attractive display, distribute literature and collect names for your petitions and mailing lists.

5. The Women's Emergency Committee in Little Rock undertook a survey of their members. They circulated a questionnaire covering income level, education, husband's profession and occupation, number of children, length of residence in Little Rock,

etc., from the results, they published a composite picture of the typical member. The high caliber of the membership was reassuring to the community and helped recruit new members.

All or none of these suggestions may be applicable to your situation. What is important is that you conscientiously investigate the resources you have and use them as imaginatively as you can.

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE *Bulletin*

(Exhibit 5)

ATHENIAN Heads Executive Committee

..."Make every parent aware"...

The appointment of Mrs. Benson Downing of Athens as Acting Chairman of HOPE's Executive Committee emphasizes the state-wide character of the open schools battle. Mrs. Downing, a native of Athens, will spearhead HOPE's drive to bring the facts to each of Georgia's 159 counties.

Mrs. Downing's professional background is one of service in the public health field. She received her BS from the University of Georgia, and MS degrees from both the University of North Carolina and the University of Georgia. She has worked as an epidemologist with the U. S. Army Southeast Region. The mother of two children, 11 and 12, she is a Board member of the League of Women Voters, and the former head of the HOPE chapter in Athens.

"As the Sibley hearings clearly showed," said Mrs. Downing, "there is strong sentiment to keep schools open to comply with the law in many areas outside Atlanta. HOPE's primary task is to make every parent in Georgia aware that Judge Hooper has given the 1961 Legislature a last chance to decide the fate of public schools."

Mrs. Downing succeeds Mrs. Th[illegible] M. Breeden, who will continue to head the state-wide Board of Directors, with some fifty members throughout the state of Georgia.

Sponsored by United Churchwomen:

"THE SCHOOL BELL TOLLS FOR YOU"

FOUR OCTOBER OPEN - SCHOOL MEETINGS
ROME - ALBANY - COLUMBUS - AUGUSTA

Calling all open school advocates outside metropolitan Atlanta! Here's a golden opportunity to convince your neighbors that the only way out of Georgia's school dilemma is peaceful compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. HOPE, with the Georgia League of Women Voters, and Active Voters of Georgia presents "The School Bell Tolls...For You! in four key Georgia communities, sponsored by the United Churchwomen of Georgia.

The red-letter dates are: Rome, Tuesday, October 18 — Albany, Tuesday, October 25 — Columbus, Wednesday, October 26 — Augusta, Friday, October 28.

Each city will have an information-packed program combining a local moderator and resource people with a visiting team of school experts. A brief outline includes:

1. The Laws and the Sibley Reports —
   Georgia League of Women Voters
2. What Private Schools Can and Cannot Do—
   Active Voters of Georgia
3. The Importance of Public Education
4. Community Action — HOPE, Inc.

There will be ample time for questions and discussion with outstanding participants.

Watch for the exact time and place so that you and your friends can swell the audience and assure each meeting's success.

- -

AS WE GO TO PRESS: The Hon. James S. Peters, Chairman of the State Board of Education has agreed to speak on "The Importance of Public Education at the Columbus meeting, Oct. 26.

Special to North Georgians: The Hon. Erwin Mitchell will address the Rome meeting, October 18 on the same subject.

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Dalton
Gainesville
Athens
Marietta
Atlanta
Griffin
G E O R G I A
Macon
Columbus
Dublin
Americus
Cordele
Albany
Moultrie
Bainbridge
Waycross
Valdosta

Which Road for GEORGIA ?

by Frances Breeden, Chairman, Board of Directors

As we start the school year, every Georgian stands at a personal crossroads. Which road will we take for our children? The road of least resistance beckons invitingly. Perhaps if we do nothing, the school problem will go away. Perhaps by some miracle we will be given more time. Or maybe politicians will find some magic formula to circumvent the inevitable.

But those who would travel this road should take warning. Prince Edward County in Virginia tried it. Now, for the second consecutive year it has no public schools, and its white private school system is pathetically unable to cope either financially or academically with the educational needs of its children.

New Orleans thought it had found the magic loophole to escape desegregation. But the courts said no. Now New Orleans is frantically preparing a make-shift plan to meet the court's November 14th deadline. But the necessary climate of acceptance has not been created. Lack of leadership in New Orleans has brought about educational chaos.

In Georgia there is no time left for self-deception or wishful thinking. The facts are these:

1. Georgia's constitution is in direct conflict with the Supreme Court ruling of 1954.

2. It is clearly impractical to develop a private school system that can provide for the educational needs of our children.

3. The alternative to closing the public schools is a system:

a) to authorize local school boards to assign students to particular schools;

b) to give as much freedom of choice as possible to parents and local communities;

c) not to compel any child to go to school with a child of a different race.

These alternatives were set forth in the majority report of the Sibley Commission appointed by the Legislature. They are reinforced by Judge Hooper's formal decision of September 8th:

". . . Should the Legislature permit Atlanta to put into effect in September 1961 the proposed plan (the Atlanta School Board Plan) the State of Georgia would free itself of the danger it now faces: that the closing of the Atlanta schools in September 1961 would, under application of the principles of law in the Virginia case, result in the closing of all public schools in Georgia."

It is now up to the Legislature to seize the "last chance" Judge Hooper gave it to keep our schools open. And it is up to us, as parents and citizens, to let the Legislature know exactly what we expect from it.

WE MUST URGE OUR LEGISLATORS TO ADOPT THE MAJORITY REPORT OF THE SIBLEY COMMISSION.

On the facing page is HOPE's program to achieve this legislative goal. It is realistic and practical. For there is no magic formula to save our schools. The road to reality is long and hard. It means taking a personal hand in daily activities —talking to our neighbors, writing our legislators, giving our time, money and talents to the fight for open schools.

Will you join us on this road— the one sure avenue to our children's future?

"IT'S MIND CHANGING TIME ALL OVER GEORGIA," said a newspaper editor. And HOPE supporters can be proud of the part they played in changing those minds. For with your help, HOPE last year channelled the public pressure that forced the legislature to appoint the Sibley Commission.

Here is what HOPE accomplished:

Operation: LAST CHANCE

- Over 10,000 signatures on a state-wide petition to the Legislature.
- A barrage of open-school publicity in the press, radio and on TV.
- Hundreds of letters and telegrams from organizations and individuals to the legislators and Governor.
- Representatives of more than 20 state organizations with HOPE as their spokesman met with Georgia's United States Senators.
- Hundreds of thousands of pamphlets distributed throughout Georgia.
- Face-to-face contact with legislators, other influential Georgians.
- Speakers brought from Norfolk and Little Rock to address major public gatherings.
- During the Sibley hearings, HOPE and other organizations mobilized people all over Georgia to testify, and produced a favorable majority report.

Now our goal is to see that the majority report of the Sibley Commission is adopted by the Legislature. Again, this means marshalling all our resources before the "Last Chance" Legislature meets.

Here are some of the program HOPE must undertake this fall to accomplish this goal:

1. Meetings like those in Rome, Augusta, Albany and Columbus (see p. 1) this October must be scheduled for every sizeable community in Georgia.

2. HOPE plans to have teams of volunteers travel up and down the state to bring the facts about open schools to every village and town.

3. 50,000 opinion-makers must be kept informed on current developments through a regular newsletter.

4. Every legislator must be supplied with material and visited by a volunteer prior to and during the "Last Chance" Legislature.

5. The least dramatic, but most effective method, is daily person-to-person contact with businessmen, community leaders, educators — all those in positions of influence. Our volunteers must be armed with fact sheets, pamphlets, reprints of news publicity — all the materials needed for a persuasive presentation.

These are the ways in which we can accomplish our goals. HOPE is not the kind of organization, nor should it be, to undertake flamboyant, professionally run campaigns. Its effectiveness depends rather on the untiring dedication of its volunteer workers.

In the coming months of the "Last Chance" Legislature, the volunteer efforts of thousands of HOPE supporters like yourselves must win the adoption of the Sibley Commission's recommendations as the law in Georgia.

May we count on your support now as in the past two years? The children of Georgia look to us to safeguard their educational future. We must not let them down.

1 will get you 10...

. . . Just one dollar from you will send this Newsletter to 10 opinion makers. We need to reach Georgia's 50,000 top citizens — legislators, journalists, businessmen, PTA presidents, church workers — community leaders all over the state.

Our job this fall is to get the facts to the people — people we have never reached before. An informative newsletter such as this is the most effective way to do it. Won't you help change the climate of opinion in Georgia by sending in your dollar today?

10 to 1...

. . . you have some free time. If you can address envelopes, type, file, run a mimeograph machine or answer the phone, WE NEED YOU! Even if you're free only a couple of hours a morning or afternoon each week, or you can work at home, we'll find a spot for you.

Just fill in the coupon and we'll send it on to your local HOPE chapter. You'll enjoy the congenial company and the glow that comes from doing a much-needed job.

To: HOPE, Inc. - 50 Whitehall Street, Atlanta, Ga.

1. Enclosed is $1.00 to help send the HOPE Bulletin all over Georgia ____________
2. I want to volunteer some free time to help in the HOPE office. The most convenient hours and days for me are ____________

____

Name ____________

Address ____________

____

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HELP
OUR
PUBLIC
EDUCATION

Tags, Windshield and Bumper Stickers, Buttons

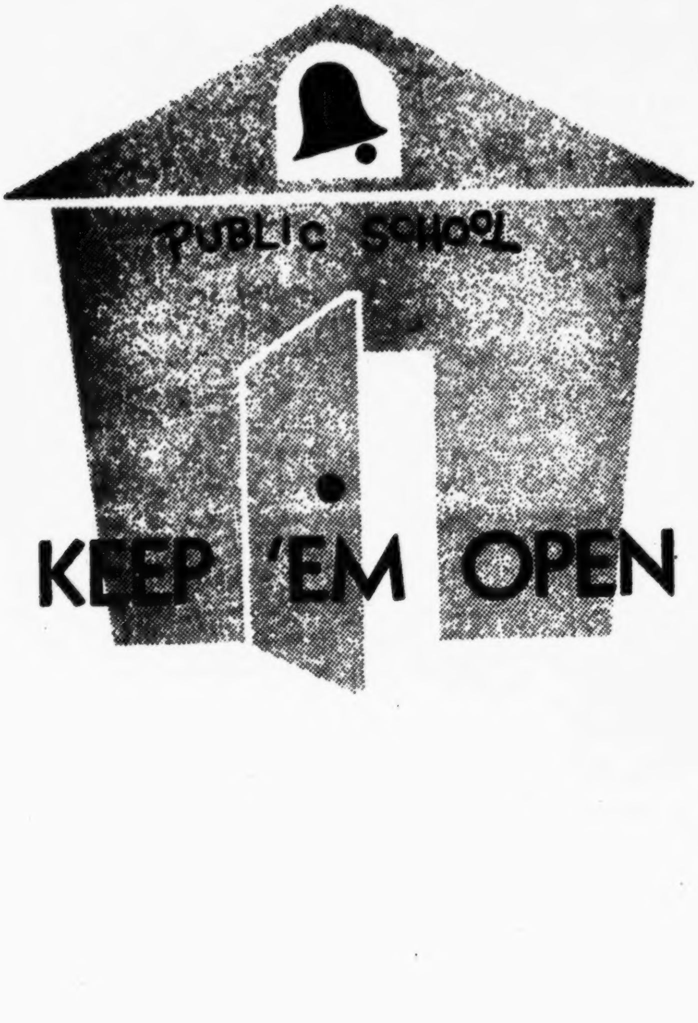
Many communities have successfully used tags or windshield and bumper stickers (Exhibit 6).

These are fine if your budget can stand them. They are expensive and not too durable, and of course the message they carry must be very brief.

The same general comments apply to buttons, except that although they last longer, they are less likely to be worn by adults. They tend to wind up, unseen, in a child's collection of marbles and baseball trading cards.

The exception to this rather lukewarm judgment is where groups have gotten together and planned a community-wide function such as "Law and Order Day," with mass participation in special events, special sermons, special proclamations by city officials and the like. Then these devices add a bonus of excitement and interest and their cumulative impact can be telling. Such community-wide events will be discussed later.

(Exhibit 6)


PUBLIC SCHOOL
KEEP 'EM OPEN

Join **H.O.P.E.**

KEEP OUR SCHOOLS OPEN

FUND-RAISING

All too often, the chairman of a voluntary group such as yours, after enthusiastically outlining an ambitious and challenging program, winds up by dropping her voice half an octave and sighing resignedly, "Now, we've simply got to do something about raising money for all this."

Her attitude is completely understandable. But it is dead wrong. For fund-raising is not a separate activity which must be undertaken to make the rest of your program possible. It is part and parcel of your program itself. It can be the most potent educational weapon you have. The physical act of making a contribution cements a commitment to the cause more potent than reams of materials and hours of public meeting. Fund-raising is also an accurate barometer of how well your program is getting across. If you can't get money, you are not reaching people.

Put it this way: it is true that if you expose people to the facts and to the necessity for action, they will contribute. But it is equally true that if you get someone to contribute--not necessarily because he is totally committed, but for any of a variety of reasons like wanting to do you a favor, or not wanting to appear stingy, or because everyone else in the room is doing it, or whatever--that person is going to be much more receptive to your material than he was before. He has literally made an investment in you and your group.

Every meeting, every coffee, every piece of literature, every mailing, every personal visit in behalf of your group should carry with it an appeal for funds.

Try to tie your appeal to a specific project or task. It is more effective to ask for a dollar to distribute a particular pamphlet than for a dollar to support your organization. There is more of a sense of achievement in backing a tangible piece of work than helping to pay the rent, telephone bills, and postage, however necessary.

Advertising Appeals

Many large voluntary organizations use newspaper advertising, with a coupon in the advertisement, to raise money. Before undertaking such a step, you will want to consider the pros and cons very carefully. This method has several disadvantages.

1. The initial investment is costly. A full page ad can run from several hundred dollars to well over $1,000 in a sizeable town.

2. You may reach a wide target, but remember, it is not a selective one. Your money might better be spent reaching people who by education, training, or profession are likely to be predisposed in your favor.

3. Preparation of fund-appeal copy is a specialized skill, and even if you should get the volunteer services from an advertising agency, there is no guarantee of success. Selling an idea requires very different handling from selling soap or ready to wear clothes.

Having considered all this, however, you might feel that the advantages--creating a big public splash and getting your appeal across to the whole town--more than outweigh the disadvantages.

In that case, it might be prudent to hedge your investment by having your advertisement consist partly of the names of all the prominent people (with their affiliations when you can get permission to list them) who support you. You could then ask each person listed to contribute two or three dollars toward the cost of the advertisement. In this way, you would have a prepaid message, backed by solid civic support, and all contributions would be pure profit.

Mail Appeals

The most economical way of raising money is through the mail. A typical fund appeal, containing the letter, an enclosure and a return envelope, should cost about fifteen cents to mail out, including postage, which should always be first class.

If your list is a good one, you should get about a 12% response, with contributions ranging from two to ten dollars, with a few contributions of $1.00, and perhaps two or three as high as $25.00 or $50.00. Thus, a mailing to 2,500 people should cost you about $375.00 and should net you between $1,300 and $1,500, for a net profit of about $1,000. And don't forget: you have put educational material in the hands of new people. So even those who don't contribute will have learned something, and that is a definite plus.

Experience shows that you can then send out the exact same letter to those on the same list who didn't contribute the first time and you will get a four to six per cent response this second time around, which is all right, because sending out more copies reduces the unit cost of the letter and enclosure. Twice is enough. After that try another letter and a different list.

Let us analyze the two examples of fund-raising letters which follow to pinpoint the essential elements of a successful appeal. Although the subject matter in each letter is different, the elements remain constant.

1. Analysis of Letter A, Exhibit 7.

a) The first paragraph should convey a sense of urgency or crisis. People won't give if they feel there is time, and "What's the big rush?" The phrases "less than two months away," "whether or not your children can go to school" and the juxtaposition of "little red school house" and "Little Rock" all build to create urgency.

b) The second element is your own bona fides. What you are, what you have already done, what successes you have achieved. People won't contribute if they have no confidence in your effectiveness and the solidity of your accomplishments. Paragraphs two and three are examples of this.

c) An explanation of a specific task to be achieved is the next essential element. The more concrete the plan, the more specific the appeal, the greater response you are likely to get.

d) The last two paragraphs of the letter contain the most essential element of all--the actual appeal--which again should convey a sense of urgency.

As important as your letter is the enclosure you send with it. Never send a letter without one. The enclosure serves two chief functions. First, it educates. Second, it backs up the statements in your letter, lending them the authority of another voice. It gives weight to your claim that you are doing a job. (Make sure your enclosure is not too weighty, literally, or it may cost you double postage.)

For example, in a fund-appeal letter whose theme was the pitfalls of a privately operated school system, it was the enclosure, Exhibit 8, which gave the appeal its impact.

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA. JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

November 5th, 1960

Dear Friend:

What will it be for Georgia — Little Rock or the Little Red Schoolhouse? The answer is less than two months away... in the "Last Chance" Legislature that will decide whether or not your children can go to school.

HOPE is the only organization working solely for this goal. Sometimes HOPE is outspoken...with statements to the news media, speakers at public meetings, delegations to elected officials... acting as a spearhead in the fight for open schools. Sometimes HOPE is in the background...quietly exerting influence behind the scenes. Always HOPE acts as a clearing-house for all the organizations and individuals who want their activities for open schools effectively channelled.

By taking many varied roles, HOPE has made continuing public education a "respectable" topic in Georgia. Yes, HOPE is changing the climate of opinion in our State.

With your help, we have won some significant victories — but the war is far from over. Ahead lies our greatest challenge. If the Legislature does not adopt the Sibley Commission's Majority Report, your children will have lost their last chance for peaceful, uninterrupted public education. HOPE's plans for "Operation Last Chance" are enclosed. We have mobilized our forces. We can go into action as soon as we have your support.

The funds for this program must come from you. There is no magic formula for making the school problem disappear. Little Rock begged for time. It was not granted. New Orleans begged for time. It was refused. Now Georgia's time is running out.

Will you give so that we can use what time is left to save our public schools?

Confidently yours,

Beverly Benson Downing

Mrs. Benson Downing
Chairman, HOPE Executive Committee

STATE ADVISORY BOARD • DR. and MRS. E. L. ASKREN, JR.—Atlanta • JAMES BARROW—Athens • W. H. BENSON—Athens
GEORGE H. BOYD—Athens • WILLIS M. BOYD—Adairsville • REV. CHARLES DEMERE—Marietta • DR. and MRS. PAUL L. GARBER—Decatur
REV. HARRY FIFIELD—Atlanta • MOSES D. HAMRICK—Duluth • MISS JOHNNIE HILBURN—Augusta • W. C. HENSON—Cartersville
HENRY T. McINTOSH—Albany • MRS. EDWARD G. MACKAY—Atlanta • DR. and MRS. JOSEPH C. MASSEE—Atlanta • SYLVAN MEYER—Gainesville
DR. McDOWELL RICHARDS—Decatur • RABBI JACOB M. ROTHSCHILD—Atlanta • JAMES O'H. SANDERS—Atlanta
REV. NORMAN O. SHANDS—Atlanta • MRS. M. E. TILLY—Atlanta • JUDSON C. WARD, JR.—Atlanta • EMILY WOODWARD—Vienna

(Exhibit 8)

. . . they thought they could go it alone, so they closed the public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

A PRINCE EDWARD PRIMER

A is for Attic*—

It's cold and it's bare
You wouldn't want your child to shiver up there.

**If not attics, then converted stores, even an old blacksmith shop serve as Prince Edward's classrooms. In some cases, grammar school children must walk two blocks to use toilet facilities.*

B is for Basement*—

So crowded and dim
No lunches, no busses, not even a gym.

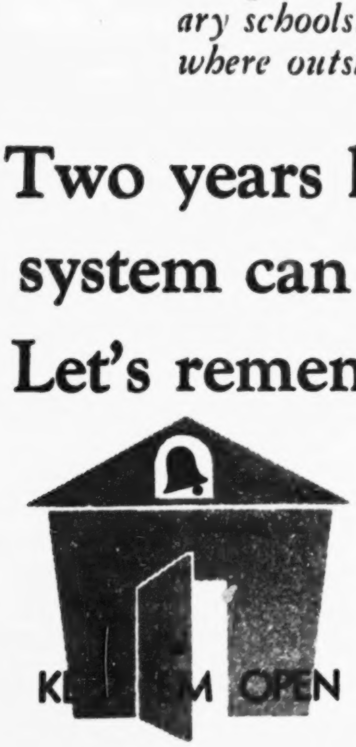
**Classes are sometimes partitioned by thin curtains instead of walls. Physical education has been dropped. Shop, home economics and science labs are often not available. There are no lunch facilities.*

C is Curriculum*—

Sharply curtailed
How costly a lesson—the students all failed!

**High schools are not accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary schools. It is very difficult for a Prince Edward child to qualify for college anywhere outside his native state.*

Two years have proven that a makeshift private school system can never replace tax-supported public schools. Let's remember these ABC's—and



KEEP OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS OPEN

distributed as a public service by HOPE, Inc.

2. Analysis of Letter B, Exhibit 9

This letter, different in subject matter, uses the same elements, although with a shift in emphasis. It was mailed out during the New Orleans riots and thus had a spontaneous timeliness and urgency. The first two paragraphs summarize that sense of urgency with which all newspaper readers and television viewers were then so familiar.

The second two paragraphs state organizational bona fides by pointing out that lack of preparation can lead to disaster, while the group is working to prepare the community and thus avoid trouble.

The third paragraph outlines the specific task and the last paragraphs ask for contributions.

The enclosure (Exhibit 10) in this case is a simple, one page paste-up of newspaper headlines and photographs which illustrate the violence described in the text.

A word of caution about Letter B. It makes a strong appeal to the emotions because it deals with violence and fear. If you make a habit of sending out shock letters, your audience will become inured to the shock effect and they will lose their effectiveness. Once is very salutory. But once is enough.

HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION

HOPE, INC.

50 WHITEHALL ST., S. W., ATLANTA 3, GA.
JA 5-8460 - 5-8469

November 28, 1960

Dear Friend:

. . . The ugly mob surges forward . . . sirens wail. . . a piercing scream . . . decent people bolt their doors and shutter their windows . . . Fear and violence have come to live in New Orleans.

While this terrifying drama is enacted before the world, Georgia stands in the wings . . . waiting. Will it happen here? Will the same deep wounds scar our state forever? Why did it happen in New Orleans?

It happened because the people of Louisiana have been systematically deceived for six years. Because they were told that the schools could remain open and continue segregated. They were totally unprepared for the truth.

This tragedy does not have to be re-enacted in Georgia. HOPE is leading the campaign to get the facts to the people. We are setting the stage for peaceful compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

Now, we must get our Legislature — the "Last Chance" Legislature — to enact the Sibley Commission Majority Report into law. If this is done, we can have peaceful, dignified acceptance of the federal court order that hangs over our heads — and uninterrupted education for our children.

What will it be for your child — panic in the streets. . . or the education that is his birthright?

You can make the choice by giving to HOPE today.

Sincerely,

Beverly Benson Downing

Mrs. Benson Downing
Chairman, HOPE Executive Committee

STATE ADVISORY BOARD • DR. and MRS. E. L. ASKREN, JR.—Atlanta • JAMES BARROW—Athens • W. H. BENSON—Athens
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REV. NORMAN O. SHANDS—Atlanta • MRS. M. E. TILLY—Atlanta • JUDSON C. WARD, JR.—Atlanta • EMILY WOODWARD—Vienna

(Exhibit 10)

Tension Rises Over New Orleans School Integration

Police at New Orleans Quell 2,000, Jailing 58

DON'T LET IT HAPPEN HERE!

Give to HOPE today!

Enclosed is $__________________ to help keep our schools open.

Name______________________________

Address___________________________

City__________________ Zone #_______

Date___________

3. Varying your approach.

These fund appeal letters were sent to a general mailing list. If you are industriously compiling lists, you should have accumulated some specialized ones--teachers, bar association members, church groups, various business and civic groups. If you can get these specialized lists, another element should be added: an appeal to the particular interest involved.

"Dear Friend: As an attorney, you have a particular interest in the orderly processes of the law...." Your enclosure might be a favorable speech by one of your legislators.

"As a businessman, you have a special concern for the economic health of our community...." Enclosure: reprint from Wall Street Journal article on economic effects of New Orleans riots, Exhibit 11. See bibliography for other publications dealing with business.

"As a member of the City Club, you have shown a continuing interest in making our city a better place to live...." Enclosure: list of prominent citizens and organizations who back a peaceful transition (Exhibit 12).

4. A personal appeal.

The only kind of letter in which some of the basic elements may be omitted is one you are writing on your own stationery to a close personal friend. Don't neglect this method. Here your relationship with the recipient permits a low-pressure, informal tone. But even in this type of appeal, it is possible to use most of the elements and send along an enclosure without sounding unnaturally feverish. Exhibit 13 is an example of a personal appeal.

(Exhibit 11)

WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1960

New Orleans Caught In Economic Squeeze In Integration Fight

Legislature Cuts Off State Aid To City's Schools: Downtown Stores' Sales Drop Sharply

By JAMES HARWOOD
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW ORLEANS—Diving retail sales in downtown stores. A sudden, steep decline in advertising spending. Threatened Negro boycotts of white merchants. Mounting pessimism among bankers and tradesmen over long-range business prospects.

These are some of the immediate results of this city's current school desegregation turmoil. This economic impact, largely obscured by the emotional outbursts here in recent days, promises nonetheless to have a strong influence on the eventual outcome of the school controversy.

Further straining the city's economy is the prospect of payless pay days for the area's 3,600 public school teachers and other school employes. Hard put by legislative orders cutting off state funds, school authorities say they may not be able to meet the $44,800 payroll today of the system's bus drivers, lunchroom workers and maintenance men. And there's even less chance, they report, of coming up with the $1.9 million due to be paid next Wednesday in monthly wages to the school teachers.

Financial Weapons

As the school desegregation battle swirls into such Deep South cities as New Orleans, economic tactics loom as a critical factor in the fight to block integration. Frustrated in attempts to prevent integration by court and legislative means, Louisiana officials are resorting to financial weapons. Aside from exerting severe pressure on local school authorities, this strategy is putting many businessmen and bankers on the spot despite their efforts to remain "neutral" in the fight.

Now, for example, local school officials are trying to swing a short-term loan of some $12.8 million from city banks to tide them over until year-end. This is customary procedure here and the loan is made against year-end revenues earmarked for the schools. But the bankers are balking now because the legislature claims it alone controls the schools; it insists the school board members are acting illegally.

"With the confusion," confesses one banker involved in the negotiations, "we don't know who has the authority to sign for, the note. You can't have people signing for a loan who may not be in office the next day."

To back up its stand, the legislature also is threatening to withdraw state funds from banks and other lending institutions which do business with the local school officials. "We're at the point where we're even afraid to cash a school board check," one banker confides.

Sit-ins and Boycotts

Economic tactics, of course, long have been used by both sides in the struggle over desegregation. The Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott by Negroes and sit-in demonstrations early this year at lunch counters around the South are two notable examples. But the stern actions of the legislature here—a strategy that may be repeated in other Deep South states that have yet to begin school integration—represent a form of massive retaliation that marks a new and significant phase in the continuing desegregation battle.

State lawmakers blocked school funds after the local Orleans Parish School Board, acting under Federal court orders, assigned four small Negro girls this week to two previously all-white schools here. Though Federal District Judge J. Skelly Wright has repeatedly issued restraining orders to prevent state officials from interfering with the integration process, the legislators hotly insist they cannot be enjoined. The four Negro children are still attending their two new schools, but almost all of the nearly 1,000 white pupils have been boycotting classes.

Demonstrations and downtown street skirmishes have left many stores practically deserted. "You could have shot a cannon off on the main floor here yesterday and not hit a person," says an executive of a big downtown department store. An official in the drapery section of another emporium reports his department's sales have been running at less than 50% of the $3,000-a-day business usual at this time of year.

"Terrible Time to Start"

"They sure picked a terrible time to start trouble," remarks I. Leon Sears, manager of Metner's clothing store off Canal Street. "The past five weeks have been bad but this week is even worse. Negroes are afraid to come downtown and the whites aren't out much either."

Many other downtown merchants, similarly hit by declining sales, had been hopefully looking for a pickup with the approach of the Christmas selling season.

At Maison Blanche, New Orlean's largest department store, merchandise manager E. Jones says: "Our sales were running about 10% below a year ago until last Monday, but they dropped this week 20% to 30%." As a result, he said, the store has made some quick adjustments: Advertising outlays this coming weekend have been slashed 50%; all buying of merchandise has been halted for fear of an excessive Christmas inventory; plans for hiring extra sales personnel for the usual Christmas rush are being reconsidered.

"We have to consider that this situation can continue for some time, although we hope it doesn't," says Mr. Jones.

A partner in one advertising agency here reports: "Many of my clients don't think it's wise to spend lots of money now. They're very pessimistic over sales prospects for the coming months."

Others Suffer

Merchants and advertising media are not the only ones to suffer financially.

"Business has stopped cold," reports H. B. Lawrence, manager of Home Finance Service. "This time last month we were lending $800 to $1,000 more each day than we were taking in, which is a good sign of better potential earnings for us. Yesterday the difference was down to $397. The day before that we took in $381 more than we loaned, which is really bad."

City officials, led by Mayor deLesseps (Shep) Morrison, are voicing fears that the desegregation ruckus will affect the city's and the state's ardent efforts to lure new industry. Years of work in building up New Orleans into a thriving city "must not be destroyed by ugly, irresponsible incidents," declares Mayor Morrison.

The financial squeeze on the school board is apt to cause more immediate difficulties than the whole slew of anti-integration laws passed by the legislature (and blocked by Judge Wright). "The legislators say they don't want to close the schools," says tall, chain-smoking James Redmond, the city school superintendent, "but the schools will have to close without money." All of the 113 public schools in the parish—not just the two integrated schools—would be affected, of course.

Normally, 60% of the parish's school budget, put at $28 million this school year, comes from the state; the remainder is put up by the city.

Though Dr. Redmond says he doesn't know for sure what teachers would do if the board can't meet its payroll, a few teachers reportedly already are showing interest in offers from out-of-state institutions.

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DECLARATION
FOR

Open Schools

Letson, West Boost Sibley Plan

The Sibley Committee's recommendations offer the best solution available to Georgia's school desegregation problems, Atlanta and Fulton school superintendents said Sunday.

"The recommendation of the Sibley Committee outlines a way—and the best way—that is open to us at the present time," said Atlanta Supt. John W. Letson.

Letson appeared Sunday on The Atlanta Constitution's Press Gallery. He and Fulton County Schools Supt. Paul West were interviewed by two Constitution staff members on the weekly WSB-TV program.

Commenting on Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd's recent statement that Georgia may not face a school integration crisis for another two years, Letson pointed out that Atlanta schools currently are under federal court orders to desegregate at the beginning of the next school year. Local schools will "obey all legally constituted authority," he added.

Asked what would happen in the case of conflicting federal-state orders such as occurred in New Orleans, Letson said these conflicts would have to be resolved by federal courts.

WANTS LOCAL CONTROL

Letson said he agrees with suggestions that laws should be passed to authorize local officials to handle school integration problems before federal courts take charge of mapping desegregation. Louisiana laws adopted after de-

Baptists Urge Vandiver To Keep Schools Open

By JIM BENTLEY
Constitution Staff Writer

SAVANNAH—The Georgia Baptist Convention, representing nearly a million Georgia church members, Tuesday night called on the governor and all other state officials to do whatever is necessary to keep public schools open.

The 2,000 delegates to the 139th Baptist convention here also voted to strike down a resolution that flatly opposed integration and hinted at the possible necessity of school closings.

Dr. Louie D. Newton, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church in Atlanta, introduced the keep-the-schools-open resolution. After an hour's debate, it passed by voice vote with only a smattering of opposition.

The resolution reads:

"Recognizing that public schools are essential in preservation of our democratic way of life we, the duly certified messengers (delegates) of the 139th Georgia Baptist Convention, do hereby earnestly and respectfully petition the governor and General Assembly and all other responsible state, county, municipal and district officials that they take such steps as are necessary to continue the public schools. We pledge our

Must Save Schools, Says Purcell

SAVANNAH (AP) — Dr. Claude Purcell, state superintendent of schools, said here Wednesday that Georgians will have to face the fact that they must live under the federal court decision on school integration "because it is binding."

"The next session of the State Legislature will have to answer the next question, then: Shall we continue massive resistance or shall we join a number of other states which have already passed legislation providing for living as best they can under the federal ruling?"

5th District Board Backs Sibley Report on Schools

By JACK STRONG

Fifth District School Board members voted unanimously Monday night to endorse the majority report of the Sibley Commission.

The board members voted afte

Alter School Laws Now, State Urged

By BRUCE GALPHIN

Two former Georgia Bar presidents and the Sibley Committee's chairman warned Thursday that the state will lose control of its schools unless segregation laws are changed soon.

Past bar chiefs Howell Hollis and Newell Edenfield, and banker-attorney John A. Sibley all insisted the action must come before a final desegregation order is entered for Atlanta.

Each warned that any laws adopted after desegregation goes into effect run the risk of being struck down by federal courts as "evasion."

"I have heard some legislators quoted as saying 'Our schools won't be closed for long, but I don't expect any legislative action until the closing comes,'" Edenfield declared.

"Well, maybe so. But if the experiences of Louisiana are any guide, the choices open to the Georgia Legislature at that time will be painfully few," he added.

Sibley told bar association members meeting here that "the time for delay and evasion is over and the time for action is here.

ditch weapon of closing all public schools might be lost after desegregation is ordered into effect in Atlanta:

"Cl[illegible] the school system is still o[illegible], but in the face of an injunction, it is entirely possible that any form of closing would be struck down as an evasion.

"Those things we are able to

Adopt Sibley Plan, School Boards Ask

The Georgia School Boards Assn. has voted to press the 1961 General Assembly to adopt the Sibley Committee majority report, which recommended some sort of local option plan to prevent the mass closing of schools in Georgia.

The school board members also called for state authorities to take "immediate steps" to equalize property evaluation throughout the state.

In their resolution on the school crisis, the board members noted that some Georgia schools are faced with court orders that will require them to admit some Negro students.

". . . under present Georgia law, all school systems in the state face closure when the first Negro student is admitted to a white school," the school board official said.

The resolutions were adopted by the association, which has a membership of more than 700 local school board members and school superintendents, at a recent meeting in Athens and released Thursday. They represent 116 of the 198 local school boards in Georgia.

Jaycees Here Urge Local Option In School Integration Crisis

The Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce Thursday advocated a local option plan in the state's school integration crisis.

The Jaycees, in a "statement of position," declared that the closing of public schools would "cause irreparable damage to our economic growth and prosperity as amply demonstrated by tragic experiences elsewhere."

Daniel C. Kyker Jr., Jaycee president, said the statement was approved by the executive committee and the board of directors before being presented to the general membership. It was approved by secret ballot Thursday.

State's Schools to Stay Open, GEA's President Predicts

Georgians will not stand for their public schools to be closed in the face of the segregation-integration dilemma, the president of the Georgia Education Assn. predicts.

E. C. Mitcham Jr. of Greenville made the statement on a television program Tuesday night, and right now. He obviously meant with a bare minimum of integration but he did not spell that out.

* * *

NEITHER DID he say how the schools could be kept open in view of a federal judge's order that the Atlanta school plan go into effect next year and in view attributed this partly to the work of 1,058 local PTA units in trying to educate parents and form public opinion on the schools crisis.

The two education leaders were guests Tuesday night on "Reporter's Notebook," a panel program on WAGA-TV.

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Adoption of Sibley School Plan Urged on Assembly to Block Closing

CARTERSVILLE (AP)—A member of the Sibley School Committee has urged the General Assembly to adopt the committee's recommendations for local option and pupil assignment to prevent closing of Georgia schools.

Charles A. Cowan, Cartersville mayor, who was a member of the committee as president of the Georgia Municipal Assn., urged adoption of the plan "before the federal courts have assumed jurisdiction of all the state schools."

"As I see it, there is no alternative to the continued operation of public schools in the State of Georgia, and I fully believe that an overwhelming majority of the people of Georgia will come to realize this," he said.

Referring to the federal court order to integrate Atlanta schools next September, he emphasized that Georgia law compels closing of Atlanta schools the minute a Negro is admitted.

"Unquestionably, when this happens, the federal courts will require the closing of all other public schools in Georgia," he told a joint Parent Teacher Association

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DECLARATION
FOR

(Exhibit 12)

Open Schools

All-Out Effort To Save Schoo Planned in C of

Ivan Allen Lays Down 6 Key Goals

By MARVIN WALL

Six major goals—including all-out opposition to school closings—were outlined for the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce by its new president Monday night.

Ivan Allen Jr., elected president at the group's 101st annual meeting, said the Chamber "must clearly set forth to the public at large and the business community in particular the full implications of the Little Rock and Norfolk and New Orleans stories."

BACKS SIBLEY REPORT

Allen said the Chamber should officially endorse the Sibley Committee's majority report and "actively work" for pasasge of open-schools legislation at the January session of the Georgia Legislature.

"Atlanta's public schools must stay open and the Chamber should provide its share of vigorous leadership in seeing that they do," Allen declared.

The other five goals listed by Allen in his address to the dinner meeting were:

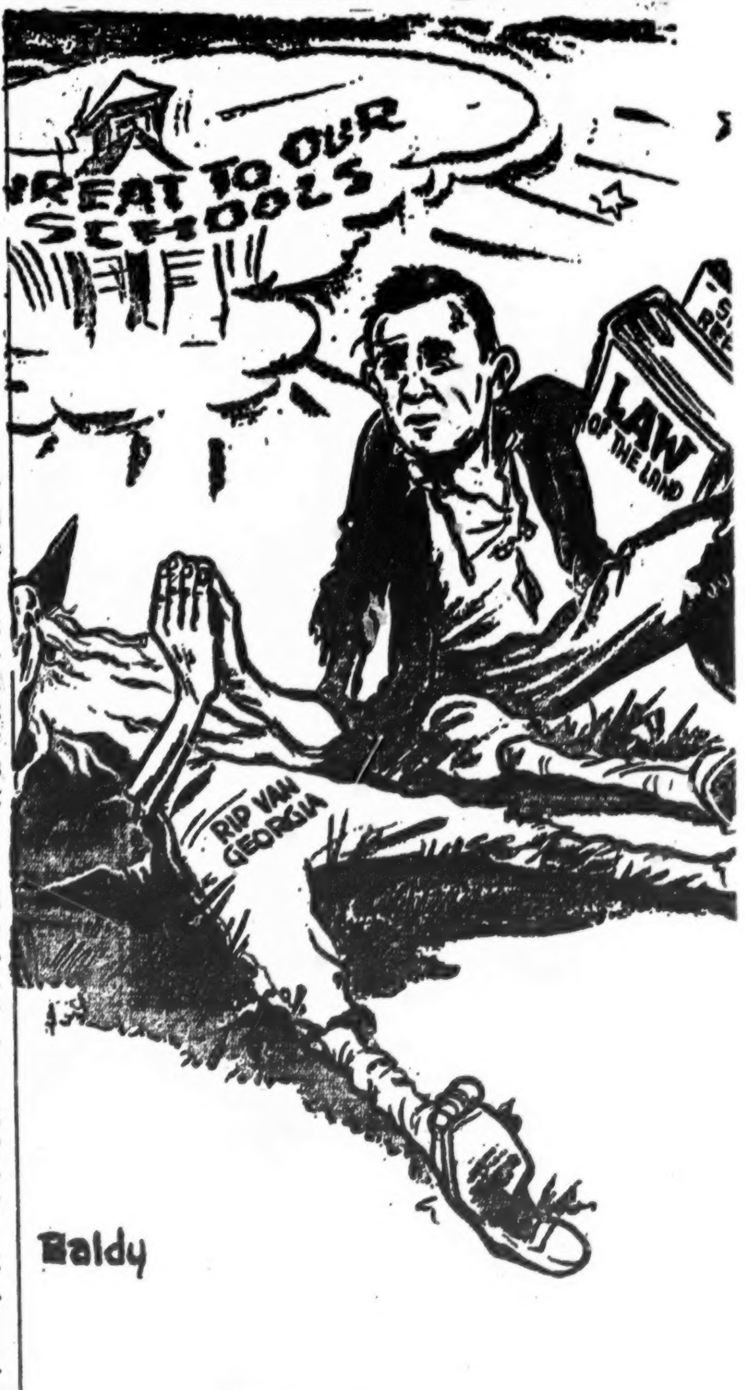
1. Push for completion all projected expressways by 1970.

2. Press for a "practical, large-scale" rapid transit system.

URBAN RENEWAL

3. Back urban renewal and particularly aid efforts to expan Negro housing opportunities.

4. Support plans for a nev auditorium-coliseum and stadium



. . . I Have Insomnia!'

Urgent Appeal

PTA Groups Encouraged Study The Sibley Repo

(Exhibit 12)

Open Schools

All-Out Effort To Save Schools Planned in C of C

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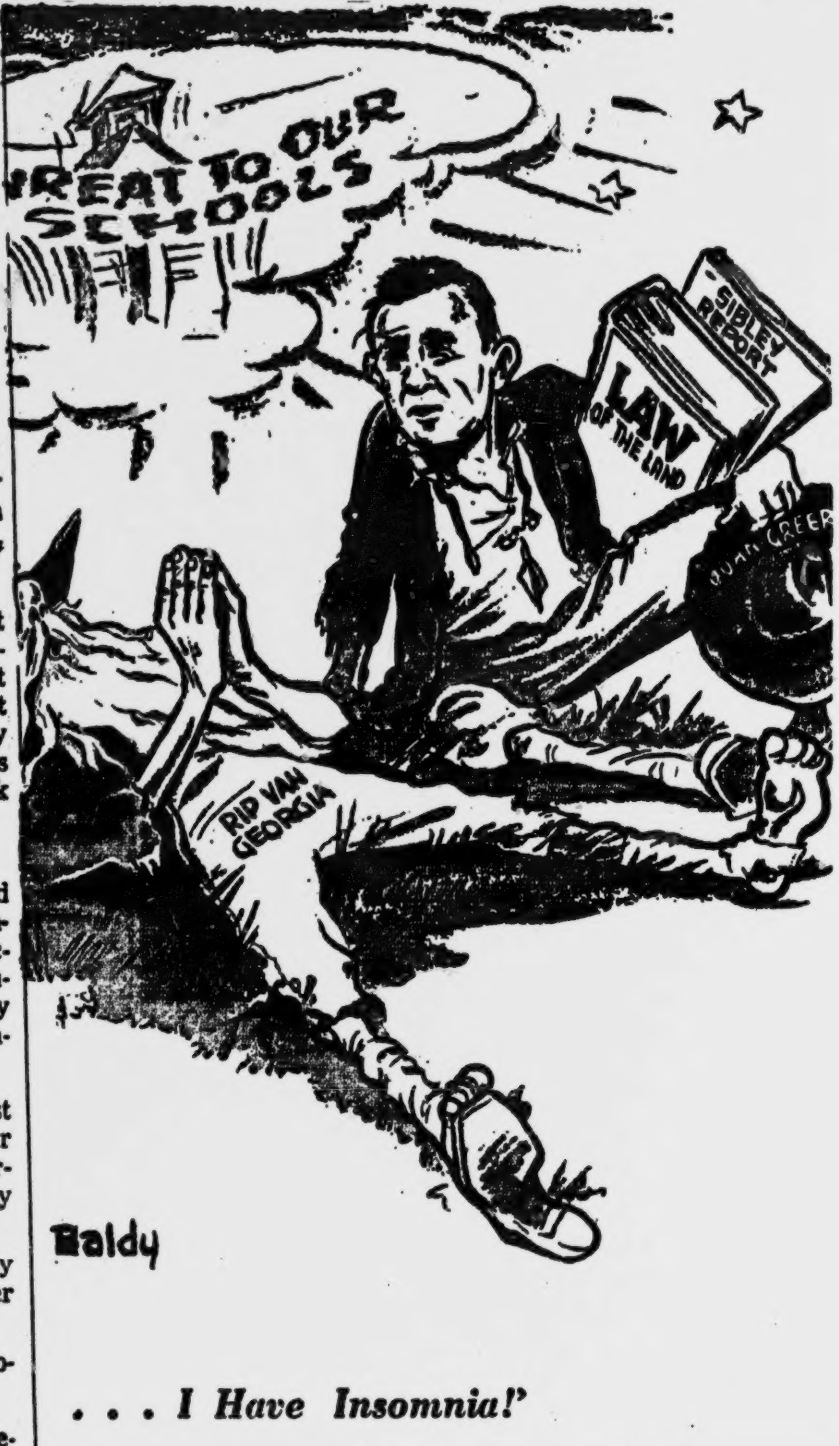

. . . I Have Insomnia!'

Urgent Appeal

PTA Groups Encouraged To Study The Sibley Report

A DECLARATION FOR OPEN SCHOOLS

This is a partial list of organizations and individuals who have publicly declared for open schools. Since it was compiled solely from newspaper accounts, it does not include the many thousands of like-minded Georgians who earnestly request the 1961 General Assembly of Georgia to take whatever action necessary to assure the continued existence of our public schools.... ...in an atmosphere of reason and calm.

ORGANIZATIONS

**American Association of University Women,
Atlanta Chapter**

Active Voters of Georgia

Agnes Scott College Faculty and Students

American Legion, Clayton

Athens Area Industrial Management Association

Athens League of Women Voters

Athens Ministerial Association

Atlanta Baptist Pastors Conference

Atlanta Board of Aldermen

Atlanta Board of Education

Atlanta Chamber of Commerce

Atlanta Jaycees

Atlanta Journal

Atlanta Christian Council

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Atlanta PTA Council

Atlanta League of Women Voters

Atlanta Presbytery

Atlanta Public School Teachers Association

Augusta League of Women Voters

B'nai B'rith, Atlanta

Business and Professional Women of Georgia

Chamber of Commerce, Clayton

**Christian Churches of Georgia
(Disciples of Christ)**

Chattahoochee P.T.A.

Christian Index of the Baptist Convention

Communicable Disease Center, Atlanta

Clayton P.T.A.

Connelly P.T.A.

Dalton Chamber of Commerce

Dalton Ministerial Association

DeKalb Board of Education

DeKalb Grand Jury

DeKalb League of Women Voters

DeKalb New Era

DeKalb P.T.A. Council

Emory University Faculty

Episcopal Dioceses of North and South Georgia

E. Rivers P.T.A.

Fernbank P.T.A.

Fifth District School Board Association

Fulton County P.T.A. Council

Gainesville Daily Times

Georgia Council of Churches

Georgia Council on Human Relations

Georgia Congress of P.T.A.'s

Georgia Education Association

Georgia Municipal Association

Hadassah, Atlanta

Henry Grady High Students

Inman P.T.A.

Jewish Community Council, Atlanta

John Cary P.T.A.

Jonesboro P.T.A.

LaGrange Ministerial Association

Lawrenceville Protestant Ministers

League of Women Voters of Georgia

Lions Club, Clayton

Margaret Mitchell P.T.A.

Methodist Cabinet, North Georgia Conference

Methodist Ministerial Association, Atlanta

Morningside P.T.A.

National Council of Jewish Women, Atlanta

**National Association of Social Workers,
Southeast Section**

North Fulton High P.T.A.

Northside P.T.A.

Oglethorpe University Faculty

Peachtree Evangelical Lutheran Church

**Republicans of Georgia,
Fifth Congressional District**

Rome Ministerial Association

Rome League of Women Voters

Rome P.T.A.

School Boards Association of Georgia

Sara Smith P.T.A.

Southern Baptist Convention

SPED (Students for Public Education)

Spring Street School P.T.A.

Star Students of Georgia

United Church Women of Atlanta

United Church Women of Georgia

United Liberal Church

United Nations Council - Atlanta

U. S. Public Health Scientists

WAGA-TV

WSB-TV

WSB

YMCA Public Affairs Committee - Atlanta

Young Republicans of DeKalb County

INDIVIDUALS

James Adams, Clayton

Dr. Charles Allen, Methodist Minister

**Ivan Allen, Jr., President,
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce**

**Dr. Wallace Alston, Decatur,
President, Agnes Scott College**

**Judge Luther Alverson, Atlanta
Superior Court**

Representative Bob Andrews, Hall County

Former Governor Ellis Arnall, Newnan

**Robert O. Arnold, Chairman,
State Board of Regents**

Dr. and Mrs. E. L. Askren, Jr., Atlanta

J. H. Baird, Editor, DeKalb New Era

James Barrow, Athens, Attorney

W. H. Benson, Athens

**Jim Bentley, Former Executive Secretary to
Governor Talmadge**

**Fulton Boswell, Gainesville,
Insurance Executive**

**W. R. Bowdoin, Senior Vice President,
Trust Company of Georgia**

George H. Boyd, Athens

Willis M. Boyd, Adairsville

Judge Samuel J. Boykin, Atlanta

Mrs. Hubert Bradley, Athens

**Mrs. Thomas Breeden, Atlanta, Chairman,
HOPE, Inc.**

Representative Wilson Brooks, Atlanta

Senator Charlie Brown, Atlanta

**Reverend Edward A. Cahill, Atlanta,
Unitarian Minister**

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BLANK PAGE

Dr. Harmon W. Caldwell, Athens, President, University of Georgia

Senator R. E. Cannon, Clayton

Dean William R. Cannon, School of Theology, Emory University

iam A. Casterson, Cedartown

Walter Cates, Executive Vice President, Georgia Chamber of Commerce

Jim Cherry, DeKalb, Superintendent of Schools

William B. Cherry, Tucker

Bishop Randolph Claibourne, Episcopal Diocese of North Georgia

Calvin Cox, City Editor, Atlanta Constitution

Charles A. Cowan, Cartersville

Representative R. Denmark, Liberty County

J. W. Dorsey, Atlanta, Attorney

Reverend Charles Demere, Tucker, Episcopal Minister

John W. Dent, President, Georgia Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Walter Dunbar, Past President, Active Voters of Georgia

Representative J. Ebb Duncan, Carroll County

Senator Carl Dykes, Hinesville

Newell Edenfield, Past President, Georgia Bar Association

ert Edge, Lawrenceville, Rhodes Scholar

A. Fairlee, Atlanta

Dr. Harry Fifield, Atlanta, Presbyterian Minister

Milton L. Fleetwood, Editor Cartersville Tribune

Bob Fowler, Gainesville, President, Junior Chamber of Commerce

Dr. Thomas Fry, Decatur, Presbyterian Minister

Dr. and Mrs. Paul L. Garber, Decatur

Representative Ed Gobel, Gilmer County

Professor Cullen Gosnell, Emory University

Mrs. Charles Graves, Mayor, Clarkesville, Georgia

Senator John Greer, Lakeland

Mayor Moses Hamrick, Duluth

Mayor William Hartsfield, Atlanta

W. C. Henson, Cartersville, Attorney

Lowell Hipps, Gainesville

Miss Johnnie Hilbun, Augusta

presentative Howell Hollis, Columbus

J. Winston Huff, Atlanta, Attorney

Frank Hughes, Executive Secretary, Georgia Education Association

Arthur Huie, Jonesboro

Reverend Francis Hyland, Atlanta, Roman Catholic Bishop

Carl P. Ingemanson, Atlanta, Engineer

Reverend Stephen Jackson, Lakemont, Baptist Minister

Howard James, Gainesville, Optimist Club

Miss Ira Jarrell, Former Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools

Representative Spencer Johnson, Indian Springs

Reverend Bevel Jones, LaGrange, Methodist Minister

Zade Kenimer, Waverly Hall, Attorney

W. A. Knox, Thomson, President, School Boards Association of Georgia

Mills B. Lane, President, Citizens and Southern Bank

A. C. Latimer, Chairman, Atlanta School Board

Dr. Robert E. Lee, Milledgeville, President, Georgia State College for Women

Reverend Robert E. Lee, Lutheran Church of The Redeemer

John Letson, Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools

Hamilton Lokey, Atlanta, Attorney

Representative Leonard N. Lokey, Thomson

Margaret Long, Columnist, Atlanta Journal

Representative Herschell Lovett, Laurens County

Dr. J. R. McCain, Past-President, Agnes Scott College

Reverend Roy McClain, Atlanta, Baptist Minister

Representative Ralph McClelland, Atlanta

Ralph McGill, Publisher, Atlanta Constitution

J. Roy McGinty, Calhoun Times

H. T. McIntosh, Editor Emeritus, Albany Herald

Senator Hugh McWhorter, DeKalb

Mrs. Edward G. Mackay, Atlanta

Representative James Mackay, DeKalb

Harold Martin, Columnist, Atlanta Constitution

Dr. and Mrs. Joseph C. Massee, Atlanta

Representative Quimby Melton, Jr., Griffin

Sylvan Meyer, Editor, Gainesville Daily Times

Everett Millican, Atlanta, former State Senator

Senator Erwin Mitchell, Dalton

Mrs. Ray Mitchell, President, Atlanta League of Women Voters

Representative David Newton, Colquitt County

Dr. Louis D. Newton, Decatur, Baptist Minister

Representative Roy Otwell, Cummings

Mrs. Walter Paschall, United Nations Council

Eugene Patterson, Editor, Atlanta Constitution

James Peters, Manchester, Chairman, Georgia Board of Education

Reverend Roy Pettway, Atlanta, Episcopal Church

Dr. Claude Purcell, Superintendent, Georgia Public Schools

Lanier Randall, Atlanta, Attorney

Homer Rankin, Editor, Tifton Gazette

Bill Reeves, Jonesboro

McDowell Richards, President, Columbia Seminary, Decatur

Reverend William Rittenhouse, Baptist Minister

Mr. P. Robertson, Rome

Phineas Roe, Atlanta

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta, The Temple

Reverend Lester Rumble, Methodist District Superintendent

Senator Carl Sanders, Augusta

James O'H. Sanders, President, Active Voters of Georgia

Representative T. I. Sangster, Dooley County

Dr. Norman Shands, Baptist Minister, Atlanta

Reverend A. Jason Shirah, Waycross

Welton Shows, Atlanta, Attorney

Celestine Sibley, Columnist, Atlanta Constitution

John A. Sibley, Chairman, General Assembly Committee on Schools

Homer D. Simpson, Stone Mountain

Frank Smith, Hall County Board of Education

Reverend Leon Smith, Atlanta, Methodist Minister

Representative M. M. Smith, Atlanta

Reverend John Owen Smith, Methodist Bishop of Atlanta

Sidney O. Smith, Jr., Gainesville, President School Board

Henry Stewart, Cedartown

Mrs. Luther Stewart, Marietta

Jim Telford, Gainesville

Johanna S. Traylor, Athens

Jack Turner, Atlanta, Attorney

Mrs. Hubert Valentine, Gainesville

Reverend L. F. Van Landingham, Atlanta, Methodist Minister

Mrs. Edward Vinson, President, Georgia League of Women Voters

Dr. Judson A. Ward, Dean of Faculty, Emory University

M. Jeff Watts, Jr., State Chairman, Georgia Young Republicans

Beth Williams, Editor, Quitman Free Press

Representative W. M. Williams, Hall County

Emily Woodward, Vienna, Past Director, Georgia Public Forums

Pastor O. E. Wright, Seven Day Adventist Church

(Exhibit 13)

Dear (First Name),

As I'm sure you know by now, I have a one-track mind when it comes to Open Schools. After a relatively quiet period, we have started to move again, as you will see from the enclosed reprint. I feel there is a good chance that we can convince the Legislature in January to keep open the public schools of Georgia.

My own enthusiasm is at fever pitch, and I hope this makes up for the fact that I am a complete amateur at asking for money. I trust you will overlook the amateurishness and recognize the urgent need. It would be catastrophic if we should fail now to save our school system.

I am asking a few of my friends to make a special large gift for our final effort before and during the "Last Chance" Legislature. Your gift will help put over this "Operation Last Chance"--but it will do more. It will prepare Georgia for peaceful compliance with the inevitable. For even worse than failure in the Legislature would be a repetition of Little Rock.

Please give as generously as you can to (Name of your local Open Schools Committee). Enthusiasm will go only so far. It takes dollars to carry on the fight effectively. If you have any questions about your gift or wish to earmark it for a special purpose, please call me.

Thank you very much for what I know will be a thoughtful and generous response.

Warmly,

A Fund Appeal Dinner

Big philanthropic agencies frequently hold fund-raising dinners and raise large amounts of money at them. The results can be spectacular, but the pitfalls are numerous.

Let's consider the disadvantages first.

1. This is the least economical way to raise money. Let us assume you want to raise money from the price of the ticket alone, rather than from an appeal during the dinner. (The latter method is too difficult for amateurs and has too many risks.) Unless you live in a wealthy community, the most you can hope to charge is $12.50 per person; $10.00 would probably be more realistic.

2. At these prices, your guests have a right to expect good food in a pleasant atmosphere. The very least the catering, hiring of a hall and incidentals like flower arrangements and tips can cost is $5.00 per person. If we take as our average ticket price a mean between $12.50 and $10.00, we are left so far with a profit of $6.25 per person.

3. If you had 400 paying guests, you would so far have a profit of $2,500. Subtract from this amount $500 for the cost of printing a brochure, invitations, tickets and mailings; $150 for the plane fare, hotel room and other expenses of your guest speaker; $60 for the free dinners you must supply the press, and an additional $100 for the emergencies that are certain to arise, and you are left with a net profit of $1,690.

This is not a bad sum, but remember to get it you must invest in tremendously hard work and months of detailed planning, work and planning requiring manpower that might be put into other activities.

The above is not written to discourage you, just to remind you that a fund-raising dinner is a most ambitious plan. There can be, however, substantial benefits in addition to financial gain.

1. If you can get an outstanding, well-known guest speaker--a high government official, someone from the entertainment world, a nationally known academic figure or an author--,his prestige is newsworthy and will enhance your own prestige.

2. The presence of such a celebrity will attract people you might otherwise not be able to reach.

3. The atmosphere of such a dinner--in an attractive setting, where everyone is dressed up and "everybody who is anybody" is there--creates its own aura of success which carries over into future activities. The value of these intangibles is hard to assess in dollars and cents, but if your dinner is a success, you can expect an upsurge in morale as well as increased financial support.

The same preparation that goes into a public meeting should go into your dinner, only more intensively.

1. The date and the place you pick are crucial. If you can get away with it, make it a black tie dinner.

2. Try to get a local college choir or instrumental group to volunteer to sing or play. If that's not possible, get a pretty soprano to sing the Star Spangled Banner at the beginning and one other patriotic song during the course of the dinner.

3. Get a prominent churchman of one denomination to deliver an invocation at the beginning and one from another denomi-

nation a benediction at the end. Tactfully suggest that they be brief.

4. Invite some local dignitaries to share the dais with the guest speaker, and make sure you introduce each one fully. Try to make certain that you don't offend anyone who should be on the dais by failing to invite him.

5. Invite the dignitaries from the dais, any potential big contributors, those who have already contributed or worked hard, and those who might help you in the future, to a private reception to meet your guest of honor just before the dinner. Limit this reception to 50 guests at the most; 25 to 35 would be better.

6. If this private reception is in your home and you know each guest personally, you might serve cocktails. But if it is at the public place where the dinner is held, do not serve alcoholic drinks. Bitter experience proves that there is always at least one teetotaller on your guest list who will be angered by the drinks and who otherwise might have been a staunch supporter.

7. Be sure to send a press release out fully describing your guest speaker, and spelling out the fact that reporters are invited to dinner.

8. Ask your guest speaker to send you an abstract of his remarks before the dinner and release them to the press at its close.

9. If your guest speaker arrives in town early enough, try to arrange a press conference with radio and TV coverage.

10. Place printed materials at each plate, explaining who you are and what you have already accomplished.

11. Be sure to thank publicly all the volunteers who worked on the dinner.

Raising Money From Private Individuals

Every town has a few leading citizens who are noted for their outstanding achievement in their professions, for their philanthropy, for what they have accomplished for civic betterment.

Each one of these individuals should be visited personally. If possible, the visit should be from someone who speaks the same language: attorney should visit attorney; doctor to visit his colleague. Make sure you have the facts to give him and ask for a contribution for a specific purpose.

In addition to asking for financial assistance, ask for aid in reaching other businessmen or professional acquaintances. If he is willing to have you send out an appeal over his signature on his stationery, so much the better. But if not, ask him to supply you with the names of potential givers.

As many of the names you are given as possible should also be interviewed personally. Some of these people may not be in a position to give you a large financial gift, but they may be able to make a donation of goods or services. A printer, for example, could supply you with stationery, a furniture dealer with used office furniture, a theatre owner with the use of his premises for a meeting, etc..

Many of the people who contribute will want to remain anonymous. Respect their wishes and maintain good security. Some may be willing to contribute a small monthly amount instead of making a lump sum gift. Don't forget to suggest this.

THE MASS MEDIA

Desegregation is news. Too often, however, the headlines are given to incidents of violence and the irrational proclamations of die-hard extremists. You can help shift the focus back into perspective by supplying your paper, radio and TV stations with well thought-out background material and newsworthy, compactly written current information.

The Press

1. Hostile newspapers.

A few newspapers are so inflammatory on their editorial pages and so prejudiced in their news columns that the former is a real threat to law and order, and the latter is an iron curtain which prevents you from getting legitimate news of your activities before the public.

It is not your job to get into a running battle with such a newspaper. There are approaches which others in the community can make and they will be discussed elsewhere. But no single voluntary group can win a struggle like this. So don't waste your time trying.

Two things you can do are to use their advertising columns, and to write certain kinds of letters for their Letters to the Editors section.

a) Advertisement.

We discussed the pros and cons of fund appeal advertising earlier. What follows is different. It is an attempt to get news to the public when conventional channels are closed.

You might want to take such an advertisement to announce the formation of your group, to announce a big public meeting, to issue a policy statement on some important court ruling.

Before getting down to the actual copy, here are two useful things to remember.

(1) Raising money to finance such an advertisement is an excellent project. Either you can get the signers to finance it, as in the fund appeal advertisement, or you can get non-signers to contribute. This should not be too difficult because they will be able to see the tangible result of their contribution in a very short time.

(2) If written correctly, such an advertisement can be cut out, pasted, and photo-offset without changes and without having to set any type. This makes an attractive, inexpensive brochure. Even counting the cost of the advertisement, it might come to less than a printed brochure in letter press, or one photo-offset where type must be set.

There are several themes appropriate to such an informational advertisement.

(1) A "Did you know that..." kind of ad. Facts about the cost of your school system, amount of taxes paid, what has happened to school systems elsewhere where violence occurred,what has happened to enhance education where transition has been peaceful. End up with a subtheme--if there is violence will your child be emotionally or physically harmed? If schools are closed will your child get into college? Your group is formed to protect

education and prevent tragedy for your child. It is backed by the following leading figures.

(2) Same ad, but giving facts on what happens to business (Exhibit 14).

(3) Appeal to civic pride. Your city is unique because of its....(Every city is unique: cultural opportunities, friendly atmosphere, beautiful architecture, etc.. Be specific.) And it has grown so in the last ten years in population, retail sales, tourism. It has a bright promising future. Must all this be jeopardized because responsible citizens neglected to plan together to prevent violence? Your group is formed to do just that. You are backed by leading citizens such as....

(4) If you have been collecting statements and resolutions from organizations, you can show how widely supported your position is by running statements and their signers as an ad. Make it as tightly packed with names as you can. For this type of ad, it is better to make it smaller with the names squeezed in than bigger with lots of white space, even though this violates good layout principles.

(5) Toward the end of your campaign, you will hopefully have reached the point where there will be a community-wide event for law and order. If the hostile paper ignores this, a suitable ad would be a public proclamation, leading off with an interdenominational prayer, with the copy signed by all the participants in this event.

b) Letters to the Editor.

Don't try to use the Letters columns to recruit members for your organization, or to reproach the editors or anyone else for their lack of vision. Such letters won't be printed in a hostile paper, and even if they were, they are not effective.

Write letters to bring before the public material not covered in the news columns, analyses of news events and court decisions, reports of meetings, resolutions and the like. Keep them calm, dignified and brief.

If there is anything at all positive that you can find to say about some action by a public figure, city official or legislator, this is the place to do it.

2. Neutral newspapers.

If your newspaper is lukewarm to hostile on its editorial pages, but fair in its allocation of news space, there are some suggestions to give you a better chance of getting your story across. Three useful principles to keep in mind when dealing with the press:

a) Anticipate the editor's and reporter's need. Supply him in advance with background, biographical, photographic and other relevant materials. If the editor or editorial writer or reporter is a friend of any group member, such personal contact will help ease the way. But it is not crucial. Either by appointment or through a friendly letter, make all your background material available and explain what you are trying to do.

b) If a reporter is covering a story in person--a public meeting, conference, etc.--provide him with proper facilities: typewriter, copy paper, telephone, etc..

c) Be available. Don't make a reporter hunt someone up for verification of facts or whatever reasonable information may be required. But decide in advance what person or persons are to be spokesman for your group and ask all other members to refer reporters to those so named. Six or seven independent spokesmen can cause a confused, distorted story.

You are not likely to get favorable editorials or feature stories in this kind of newspapers--at least not initially. So concentrate your public relations program on specific events:

- announcement of group's formation, names of officers, identification and group's goals
- announcement of public meeting, quote from guest speaker, follow-up story
- announcement of widespread public support, with list of organizations and individuals
- analyses of court decisions, actions of city or school officials that directly affect your position.

Useful hints in preparing a news release.

a) The release date on a story is important and confusion can result when it is omitted. If your speaker is scheduled to appear Monday evening, August 9th, type in the upper right hand corner, capital letters underlined, FOR RELEASE TUESDAY AM, AUGUST 10, 1963. Since newspaper deadlines vary, make sure you call in advance to find out how many hours before you must have the story in to make the edition you want.

b) In the upper left hand corner, insert the name of the person who may be contacted for further information, with address and telephone number.

c) All copy should be double-spaced.

d) Write the word "MORE" at the bottom of each page if release is longer than one page.

e) Mimeograph or type individual copies of all releases. Editors do not like carbons--too messy.

f) If your budget permits, have news release mast-heads printed in color on mimeograph paper, making it easier to identify your story. (This should cost under $5 per thousand sheets.) It will save you time and trouble in listing the names of your officers, address and telephone number of your chapter. It can also be used to send newsletters to your members and friends.

Suggestions for writing your release (see Exhibit #15):

a) Write your story simply; keep your facts understandable; keep your sentences short and crisp. Avoid involved sentence structures.

b) Unless opinion is included in the quoted material, never editorialize in a news release. Let the facts speak for themselves and let the opinions be directly attributable to the person acting as spokesman for your group.

c) As a general rule, eliminate adjectives such as "a strong resolution," "an important statement." Such characterizations make editors suspicious.

d) Unlike other forms of writing, a news story begins with the climax. Other details, in descending order of importance, taper downwards to the end. Thus, if your story is going to be cut, it will be cut from the bottom, and the essential elements should be at the beginning.

e) Holidays and Sundays tend to produce less news for the papers the following day. You might find it helpful, therefore, to release your story for Monday or the day after a holiday.

3. Favorable Newspapers.

If you are fortunate enough to have a newspaper which supports you editorially, there are many ways in which you can cooperate in getting the story of peaceful transition before the public.

a) Follow the suggestions above on preparation and timing of news releases.

b) Offer to supply the research material for special features in which the newspaper might be interested. The experience of other communities, special facts on the relationship of business health to peaceful transition, legal analyses of court rulings and administrative decisions--these and other projects could serve as helpful background to buttress editorial comment. Remember, however, that no self-respecting newspaper will take a "canned" editorial.

c) Try to keep the paper's columnists supplied with materials on their specialized interests: women's--accounts of daytime meetings, teas, biographical material on women members; political--positions on legal developments; business--facts on increase or decline in business following transition, etc..

d) The same flow of material should go to any specialized publications in your community: retailer's journal, civic betterment magazine, etc..

e) As the big event for which you have been preparing--say school desegregation--approaches, consider printing a compendium of material which will prove useful to reporters, not only from your own town, but from papers throughout the state and for the wire services. This might include the full facts on what schools are being desegregated and where they are located; what the criteria were for selecting the transfer students; how many students are involved; what preparations law enforcement officers have made; what city officials are doing; what groups have played a key part in community preparation; what the ground rules for the public are; what facilities for the press have been provided and what restrictions are placed on their covering the story.

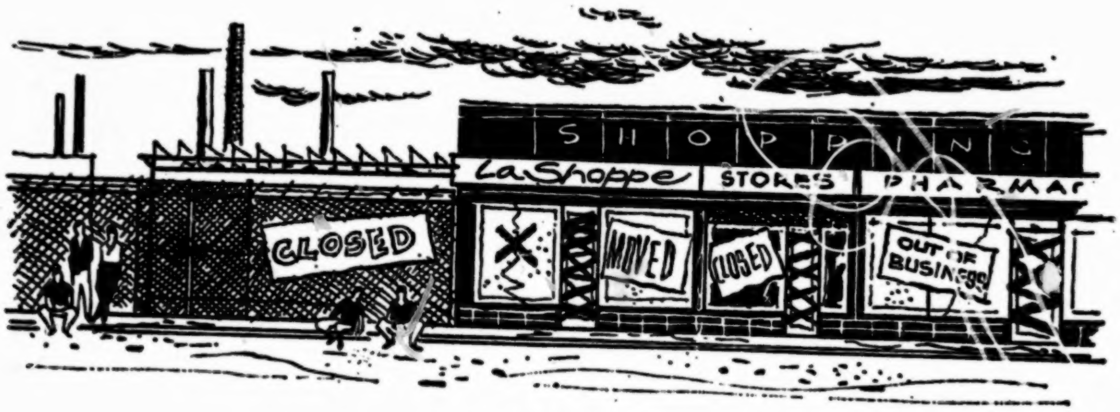
An elaborate publication of this kind, Background Atlanta, was printed to meet the needs of newsmen in Atlanta when its schools were desegregated. (See Bibliography.) Keep in mind that yours does not have to be so elaborate and it can be mimeographed instead of printed.

f) After an important event, write a note to the editor complimenting him and his reporter on the accuracy of the coverage. Like everyone else, editors like to be appreciated, and because most of their mail consists of complaints, your letter will stand out. Do not, however, thank an editor for covering a story or for the amount of space he gives it. Such a letter implies that you were pleasantly surprised that he considered your event newsworthy; it makes him doubt his own judgment. Thank him only for accuracy or completeness.

g) In a friendly newspaper, too, don't neglect your Letters to the Editor columns. They are frequently followed more closely than the news columns.

Let's talk

DOLLARS and SENSE



WHAT WILL BE THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL CLOSURE IN NEW ORLEANS?

As Little Rock and Norfolk have already proved, what is "bad for public schools is also bad for business." If our public schools in New Orleans do not open their doors on September 8th, the economic health of our Community will suffer an incalculable blow.

Retail trade and real estate volume will decrease appreciably when the schools are closed. Already, New Orleans merchants are beginning to feel the "pinch" as Back-to-School sales figures decline day by day. The buying public is holding back on such items as school clothing and accessories due to the uncertainty of the school situation. Real estate sales also hang in the balance as parents wonder if they will have to move to another community in order to provide education for their children.

New industries on which we hope to build the economic security of the future will almost surely be discouraged from coming into an area where there are no public schools. A troubled community is no place for industrial expansion.

And, just as surely, recruitment of employes for the industries and businesses of the area will be seriously hampered. Skilled workers, technicians, college educators, professional men will not choose to settle in a town where public schools are not available.

Here are a few rosults we can plainly foresee:
1) The $20,000,000 school construction program, for which the bond issue has been approved, would have to be abandoned if the school system is shut down.
2) The $28,000,000 annual operating expenditures of the Orleans Parish School system would be lost to the community.
3) Payment would be enforced on the school bonds that are now outstanding, although the taxpayer would be paying taxes for benefits no longer received.

In dollars and cents, then, the closing of public schools is an expensive proposition. Businessmen of New Orleans have a stake in its public schools, not only as a matter of civic interest; but, realistically, as a matter of DOLLARS and SENSE.

- ***WE SHOULD PROFIT BY THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER COMMUNITIES***

In Little Rock, the year before the school crisis, the number of new jobs totalled 1,003. During the two years that followed, there were no new jobs.
In Norfolk, the city estimated that closed schools cost the economy of the community $172,000 a month.

- ***WE MUST ACT NOW TO PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION***

We must realize that there is no longer a choice between INTEGRATION and SEGREGATION . . . the issue now is EDUCATION or ILLITERACY, together with all of the civic and economic disasters it brings. No matter what our individual feelings in the matter, we must realize that our children are entitled to the right of education.

ALL WHITE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS WHO SUBSCRIBE TO THESE AIMS ARE INVITED TO JOIN THE COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION. MEMBERSHIP DUES ARE $1.00 PER YEAR, AND DONATIONS ARE WELCOME.

COMMITTEE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

P. O. Box 8192, Gentilly Station, New Orleans, La.

NAME ....

ADDRESS .... PHONE ....

BUSINESS ....

SCHOOL ....

(Exhibit 15)

SAMPLE RELEASE ANNOUNCING FORMATION OF GROUP

CALL: John Doe
CE 5-6681
1541 Maple Street, S.E.

FOR RELEASE: DAY AND DATE

Dr. John G. Jones, Dean of Men at Green College, has been appointed Chairman of the newly organized Citizens' Committee on the Schools (CCS). The announcement was made last night by the organization's Planning Committee.

Three other permanent officers were also appointed: Dr. John Brown, President of the Mid-County Dental Society, as Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Mary Brown, founder of the Volunteers Society of General Hospital, as Secretary; and David Smith of the law firm of Smith, Smith, and Marlborough, as Treasurer.

In accepting the Chairmanship of CCS Dr. Jones stated:

"The only purpose of CCS is to insure the continuation of our public school system in an atmosphere of law and order. I hope that all Midvalians will want to join with us in speaking up for dignity and decency. We cannot afford to let violence bring harm to our children and to threaten the economic and social well-being of our community.

"Our task is to let every citizen know the facts about school desegregation and to help prepare the community so the transition can be made peacefully and independently without outside intervention."

Radio and Television

1. Draw up a list of all radio and television stations in your area, with the names and telephone numbers of their news directors and program directors.

2. Take time out to learn what the station broadcasts. A certain time, by FCC regulation, must be devoted to public service broadcasting. Find out what the station is doing to fill that allotment and offer to help.

3. Some radio and television stations broadcast regular editorials. If a station's editorial policy is favorable to you, offer to supply background material to support their editorials. If it has broadcast hostile editorials, request time on one of their editorial broadcasts for your point of view to be presented.

4. Don't go to a station with the notion that it would be a nice idea for them to put on a program. Their reply will be, "What do you suggest?" Instead, have a specific proposal already prepared on paper so that you can leave a memorandum with them.

5. Having studied a station's schedule, you will find that there are four basic moves you can make.

a) You can make a contribution to a going program: a regular interview series or discussion or religious program. (In all cases, we are speaking of shows originating locally.)

b) You can aim for a "one shot" program that you could initiate. You could either supply your own panel or discussion leader, or your could supply an already prepared film or radio tape. Several agencies have just such films and tapes available which they will either lend or rent to you for a nominal fee. A list of agencies with such resources is in the back of this manual.

c) You could prepare a series of "spot" announcements and purchase the time for them, as commercial firms do for their products (see Exhibit 16).

d) You can supply news directors with news stories for their regular news broadcasts, as you do for the press, following the same rules for preparation and writing as previously discussed.

6. Many local radio staitons have community calendars which announce meetings of civic and fraternal groups. Don't neglect these calendars when you have your own meetings.

7. Don't neglect an appeal to young people and students. Write to all the disk jockeys asking them to talk to their young listeners about good behavior when schools desegregate. An appeal from a disk jockey may carry more weight than one from a school principal.

(Exhibit 16)

SUGGESTED RADIO SPOTS

30 Seconds

What would happen if we Georgians lost public education? Emily Woodward, of Vienna, Georgia, says: "Nothing would give more encouragement to potential enemy nations! Closing our public schools would be a major disaster!" Please write Governor Vandiver today. Tell him that the Legislature must pass the Sibley Commission Majority Report--to keep our schools open Georgia parents unite--to save our public schools!

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"If we don't keep our schools open by taking constructive initiative with our problems, we are inviting action by outsiders, and destruction of the public schools. If we don't work a solution out, it will be worked out for us, the hard way!" That's how Editor Sylvan Meyer of Gainesville, Georgia, points out our responsibility. It is up to you and me to preserve free public education in Georgia! Write Representative (State Legislator) today! Let him know how important public schools are to our children and to their future!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

How important is public education to you and your community? Dr. J. McDowell Richards, President of Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur says: "The wealth of any state or nation is found in its young people. I can think of few greater tragedies than to have the public schools of Georgia closed!" Write Representative (State Legislator) today! Let him know that free public education must continue uninterrupted in Georgia!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

15 seconds

One school closed means all schools are closed! Join parents all over Georgia in preserving our public education. Write your state legislators today! Let them know how important public education is to you and your children!

- - - - - - - - - - - -

A closed school padlocks your child's future. Keep public education growing and going throughout Georgia! See your Legislator now! Tell him to vote for the Sibley Commission majority report-- to keep Georgia's schools open!

DEALING WITH THE OPPOSITION

There is a rule in physics: every action produces an opposite reaction. In life as well, you must be prepared for your activities to evoke a negative response from fringe hate groups. You may find an attempt to picket your meetings. Some of your leaders may be subjected to crank telephone calls.

There is a natural tendency to want to strike back at such annoyances, to attempt to nullify the opposition's effectiveness by exposing his arguments, by giving out literature at his meetings, by debating his positions.

The tendency is natural. But...think twice and don't.

1. The only thing you will accomplish by speaking out against an opposition meeting is to call attention to it. The opposition needs all the publicity it can get of any kind, and it is not the business of your group to supply it. By ignoring such a meeting and getting anybody you can to stay away from it, you will help isolate them.

2. Some voluntary groups have attempted to dissuade owners of halls and theatres from permitting opposition groups to meet there. This is a very questionable tactic. First, it diverts your activities from more productive channels. Second, any peaceable meeting is a legitimate expression of free speech, no matter how distasteful it may be to you personally. Don't set repressive precedents which might curb free speech. Some day that precedent might be turned against your group.

3. Don't try to distribute literature outside an opposition meeting. Apart from the point about getting them free publicity, such an audience is the least productive target, and your presence in such a situation is an invitation to trouble.

4. *Never* get involved in a public debate with the opposition. It stands to benefit enormously by sharing the platform with a respectable group and reaching audiences otherwise unavailable to it. You stand to lose by associating yourselves publicly with discredited policies and an outmoded outlook. Remember: *upholding law and order is not a subject for debate*. In general, debates, while sometimes calling forth dazzling displays of rhetoric, tend to generate a heated, emotional atmosphere and are a very unsuitable format for answering legitimate questions in a reasonable, factual way.

5. If there are trouble-makers at your meetings or anonymous letters or telephone calls, get in touch with the police, giving them as much factual material about the incident as you can. If the trouble is coming not from just irrational individuals but from organized hate-mongers, get in touch with the Anti-Defamation League, which in addition to its broad-guage community program, also has specialists who deal with these problems. They will be glad to give you their guidance.

6. Keep in mind that your own constructive program is the most effective answer to the opposition. The broader the base, the more comprehensive the scope, the more successfully you will set the opposition apart from the rest of the community.

THE ROLE OF BUSINESS

For the business community, violence, or closed schools, or a hostile, unsettled atmosphere imposes a heavy handicap on progress. For these conditions can be counted on to create a local, home-grown depression.

The classic example of such a local depression is Little Rock. During the year 1958, Arkansas, with its massive resistance and unsettled conditions had only $25.4 million in new plant investment, compared with $44.9 million in 1957 and $131 million in 1956. And once this downward spiral begins, it is extremely difficult to stop, even after things have settled down. Even with the schools reopened and federal troops withdrawn, Little Rock has not yet recovered, and the road back threatens to be painfully slow.

Compare Arkansas' record with that of North Carolina: legal compliance and little social unrest meant new plant investment for 1958 of $253 million and steadily rising since.

Everett Tucker, Jr., head of the Little Rock Industrial Corporation for more than a decade, spells out for businessmen the tragic fallout of social unrest:

> It's sort of an insidious thing. You just don't hear from XYZ Company that it's on the prowl for a new plant location. You never hear from them; they are not going to write you and say: "We were going to look at Little Rock, but now we're not."*

Nevertheless, Mr. Tucker has seen a few letters dramatically showing how businessmen shun areas where violence occurs.

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* Transcript of telecast, "Face the Nation," CBS, August 16, 1959.

ne was from the president of an Eastern company with which he had een concluding negotiations for a new plant:

> As you know from our previous discussions, certain key employees' reluctance...made it almost impossible to move. The wives of these employees played a prominent part in their decision not to move to Little Rock. The adverse publicity given your area on the school issue was certainly no help to our cause.

A second letter from another company is even more direct:

> Our contacts with Arkansas have given us an unfavorable opinion of that state in comparison with Tennessee.... We have no desire to be involved in the segregation problems current in that state.

Of course Little Rock is not alone in its business troubles. nd new plant location, though an accurate barometer, is not the nly aspect of business life that suffers when transition is not eaceful. Albany, Georgia; New Orleans, Louisiana; Birmingham, labama--these and scores of smaller communities have paid for heir unrest with loss of retail sales, loss of tourism, closing own of transportation, loss of job opportunities.

Since business health and peaceful transition go hand in and, it would seem obvious that businessmen would take the lead in ssuring that peaceful transition to protect their investments. ut this has not always been the case. Let us examine the fears--hether legitimate or irrational--that sometimes prevent business-en from playing an appropriate role. Then we can examine the teps that forward-looking businessmen in other communities have aken to dispel those fears and exercise effective leadership in ecuring peaceful transition.

1. Businessmen fear it is unwise to irritate local and tate authorities who are hostile to peaceful transition. If they lay a prominent role in achieving transition, might they not be

subject to official harassment: lost contracts, rigid inspections, constant tax audits?

2. Managers of branch offices and plants are sensitive to the criticism that they are newcomers and should keep out of local affairs until they become well established in the community. An easy alternative to action is to adopt the slogan: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do."

3. The customer is always right. Businessmen fear that if they take a position in favor of peaceful transition, they will lose the trade of die-hard segregationists. This fear of antagonizing any segment of the community makes some determined to take no position at all.

4. Businessmen fear to break with the commonly held view that they shouldn't "get mixed up in politics." They should devote their spare time to such "safe" endeavors as philanthropy, civic betterment and religious groups.

The answer to all these fears lies fundamentally in united action. It is true that one businessman speaking for himself might be harassed, victimized, or criticized. It is equally true that the business community speaking with one voice can prevent the economic tragedies that go with social unrest and at the same time change the climate of opinion in which such fears flourish.

If you are a businessman concerned with this problem, or one of a group of such businessmen, you will be interested in the steps taken in other communities:

1. Work through the formal, organized business channels. Usually this means the Chamber of Commerce. The Chambers of Charlotte, Greensboro, Dallas, Atlanta, and Knoxville, among many

others, issued public statements calling for law and order. (See Exhibit 17.)

2. Help gain other business support. A statement of position by the Chamber, a universally respected organization, can help convince individual businessmen. As a businessman, you are uniquely qualified to talk to other businessmen. This can be done quietly, in committee or over luncheon. There is a wealth of factual material readily available to you on the relationship of economic health to peaceful transition that will help you make your point. This material is listed in the bibliography.

Or you can see that this subject is brought up publicly where businessmen meet, whether in business conventions or in fraternal and civic organizations like Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Elks, Optimists. Draw up a list of all such organizations and ask them to schedule programs on the subject. Offer to supply the speakers and background materials.

3. Form an employers' committee to enlist employee support. Exhibit 18 is an example of how a committee of businessmen in Chattanooga wrote to every employer in the area, asking each one to assist peaceful transition by letting employees know that the employer supported the efforts of the city administration and the school board toward peaceful transition. These messages were carried in weekly payroll envelopes.

In Dallas, businessmen included in pay envelopes messages prepared by the Dallas Council of Churches, Dallas Bar Association, and the Dallas County Medical Society (Exhibit 19).

4. Get a list of every business in your area--perhaps from a locally published business directory--and visit as many as possible personally. In this way, a group of Georgia businessmen got the signatures of over 1,500 businessmen on a statement calling

for law and order.

5. Your constructive views will carry weight with a hostile or noncommitted newspaper. As respected businessmen concerned with the well-being of your community, as regular or potentially regular advertisers, you already have an established relationship with the publisher. A businessman's committee could arrange a luncheon with the newspaper people to thresh out some of the problems involved and to point out the hazards and penalties to the business community of negative thinking.

If your newspaper is friendly, you might want to suggest that the business editor run an article or a series on the relationship of peaceful transition to good business. This piece could then be reprinted and distributed to every business.

6. If your Chamber of Commerce or other business association publishes a newsletter or house organ, offer to supply a factual article for it on this subject. If possible, have a well-known business leader as the author.

7. Your views are of vital importance to elected officials, whether friendly, indecisive, or hostile. We mentioned before that businessmen sometimes fear that they will be penalized by government for participation in law and order groups. It is just as likely, however, that presented with the united voice of business government officials will be most responsive. They will pay respectful attention to the wishes of such a united group who represent voters, taxpayers, campaign contributors, and respected influences in the community. Make available to these officials the facts about business and transition. Let them know how you feel. If the business community remains silent, officials will assume

that a course of inaction or massive resistance is acceptable to it. By resolutions, public statements, and delegations from business leaders, you can let them know that you expect business protected by moderate, sensible public leadership.

8. Your own specific type of industry--whether it be retailers, contractors, or manufacturers--might want to take a public stand in its own name. This could be a joint statement, trade association meeting to discuss the issue, or a newspaper advertisement. Business advertising can be attractive and dignified, as you will note from Exhibit 20.

9. Mass demonstrations and mass picketing can be ruinous to business, and these frequently occur where a business refuses to desegregate because it does not want to be the first and thus risk loss of business. But if an industry works together, the shock can be absorbed with no loss of customers. This has been the experience in scores of communities. You might want to consider, therefore, participation in a bi-racial council which could deal with such problems step by step before they reached the danger point. If there is such a council already in existence, consisting mostly of voluntary agencies, you will want to think of the advantages of strong business representation to help shape policy.

10. Not every businessman has time to participate as actively as he might wish. He can, however, support the efforts of voluntary groups such as HOPE or ABLE by contributing money and services to their efforts and by distributing material among his colleagues.

11. In order to secure the maximum attention to your

public statements, resolutions, meetings and other activities, you might wish to review the suggestions for public meetings and for dealing with the mass media.

(Exhibit 17 - Page 1)

SAMPLES OF STATEMENTS FROM BUSINESS GROUPS

...Urging peaceful desegregation of schools

On August 27, 1961, the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce issued an appeal for law and order which appeared as a full page ad in the city's newspapers.

> Atlanta people are proud of Atlanta. We founded it in Indian country. We fought for it during the Civil War. We rebuilt it after the War. We have pushed it, pulled it, bragged about it, and loved it. Now the world comes to measure our town. This week four of Atlanta's high schools will be desegregated, like those in 160 other Southern cities. The legal questions have been answered. The law is clear beyond dispute. How Atlanta reacts lies with every individual who lives or works in Atlanta. A restless world will be watching our reactions.
>
> * * *
>
> How great is Atlanta? It is as great as we make it. The 2,500 member firms of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce firmly believe...that all of us will support the laws of our land and meet this latest in a long series of challenges with order, dignity, and pride in our city.

...Calling on all businesses serving the public to desegregate

Directors of the Raleigh, North Carolina, Merchants Bureau (May 13, 1963):

> God-fearing people, as responsible citizens, and all people of good will, must face the fact that peace in human relations is essential.
>
> Being charged with the responsibility of offering leadership to business in the community of Raleigh, we are convinced we should, without further delay, remove all policies in both government and business which deny rights and services because of race.
>
> The overriding challenge now confronting every Raleigh business person is to do these things that would further human relations and the continued growth of Raleigh.

An appeal to the business community from the Directors of the Charlotte, N.C., Chamber of Commerce (1963):

> We, the Directors of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce, recommend that all businesses in this community catering to the general public be opened immediately to all customers without regard to race, creed or color.

(Exhibit 17 - Page 2)

...Supporting open schools

One hundred of the best known Norfolk, Virginia leaders of the business community joined in publishing a manifesto as a full page ad (January, 1959), which read in part:

> The abandonment of our public school system is, in our opinion, unthinkable, as it would mean the denial of an adequate education to the majority of our children. Moreover, the consequences would be most damaging to our community....

Business leaders in Charlottesville, Virginia, initiated and issued (over mass signatures) a statement called "Free Public Schools Under Local Control: A Non-Political Statement" (January, 1959), which included these points:

> 1. It is in the interest of every citizen that there be maintained an efficient public school system. The economic health of the community and the well being of its people make this imperative. Accordingly, we firmly support the purpose and spirit of Section 129 of our state constitution which makes this a mandatory duty upon the legislature.
> 2. The responsibility and control of schools including, in particular, assignment practices, should be lodged squarely in local school boards familiar with local problems. Accordingly, we firmly support the purpose and spirit of Section 133 of our constitution which expressly vests supervision of schools in local school boards.
> 3. We explicitly deny that the two basic principles above can be achieved by closing schools and we emphatically assert that the vital human and economic interests of this community can be best served by reopening our public schools as soon as practicable.
> 4. We register complete confidence in the capacity of our local school board and our local government to assure the reopening and maintenance of our local public schools in such fashion as to serve the best interests of this community.

(Exhibit 18)

C O P Y

COCA-COLA BOTTLING CO. (THOMAS), INC.

Interstate Building - Chattanooga, Tennessee

August 6, 1962

TO ALL EMPLOYERS OF CHATTANOOGA AND HAMILTON COUNTY:

Gentlemen:

On Friday, August 31st, pupils in City and County schools will register for the coming year, and the schools will open on Tuesday, September 4th. For many months the School Boards and the City and County Governments have been working to assure compliance with the orders of Federal Courts concerning desegregation. If the schools open in an atmosphere of respect for the law, Chattanooga is ahead; if disorder of any kind should occur we will all suffer for years to come. The experience of other cities proves it.

We are writing today as fellow businessmen who seek your help. Each of you has great influence with his own employees. We ask you to use that influence on the side of law and order. There are certain things you can do to make the openings of the schools completely peaceful. The first is let your own people know that you support the City and County Governments, and the School Boards. The courts have made their decision, and it is now up to the School Boards to comply. They are determined to do it, and are fully supported by the City and County.

The second thing we ask you to do is to use the payroll inserts which are being provided by the Junior Chamber of Commerce. Ten copies are enclosed with this letter. All firms having more than ten employees will receive a supply of the inserts either by mail or messenger. If your company does not receive the forms by August 14th, please call Les Werner, AM 6-7504. If you cannot use the envelope inserts by the 17th, it would still be helpful to give them out as late as Friday, August 24th. This payroll insert carries a simple message, that peace and prosperity go together. We cannot have one without the other.

Sincerely yours,

S/Felix G. Miller, Jr.
Felix G. Miller, Jr.
Miller Bros. Company

S/DeSales Harrison
DeSales Harrison
Coca-Cola Bottling Co.
(Thomas), Inc.

S/W. E. Brock, Jr.
W. E. Brock, Jr.
Brock Candy Company

S/Don H. Overmyer
Don H. Overmyer
Chattanooga Box and Lumber
Company

(Exhibit 19)

Dallas' Opportunity

The federal courts have decided that we must desegregate our public schools in Dallas this fall. No matter how we may feel about this personally, it is now a matter of law and order.

In America, every person can act the way he wants so long as he doesn't break the law. A good citizen doesn't take the law into his own hands simply because he doesn't like a law — he tries to change it by peaceful and legal means. A lawbreaker is a bad citizen and deserves the disapproval of his neighbors.

For the good of all of us in Dallas, the new school law must be accepted this fall in a peaceful manner. Violence hurts all of us, not just a few. Violence can:

- **Destroy our city**
- **Ruin our schools**
- **Endanger your job**
- **Destroy the health and well being of all our children**

We don't want this to happen in Dallas. Dallas is a great city. Let's keep it that way!

Produced in consultation with the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, the Dallas Bar Association, and the Dallas County Medical Society.

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What about our children?

It is your job and mine to help our children face the changes at school this fall peacefully. But —

- **If we parents fail**
- **If our city's leaders fail**
- **If some of us turn to violence**

— it is our children who will pay the price. Many will undergo fears they can never forget.

Public desegregation does not mean a loss of personal freedom. Each of us can still make our own friends and bring up our children as we think best.

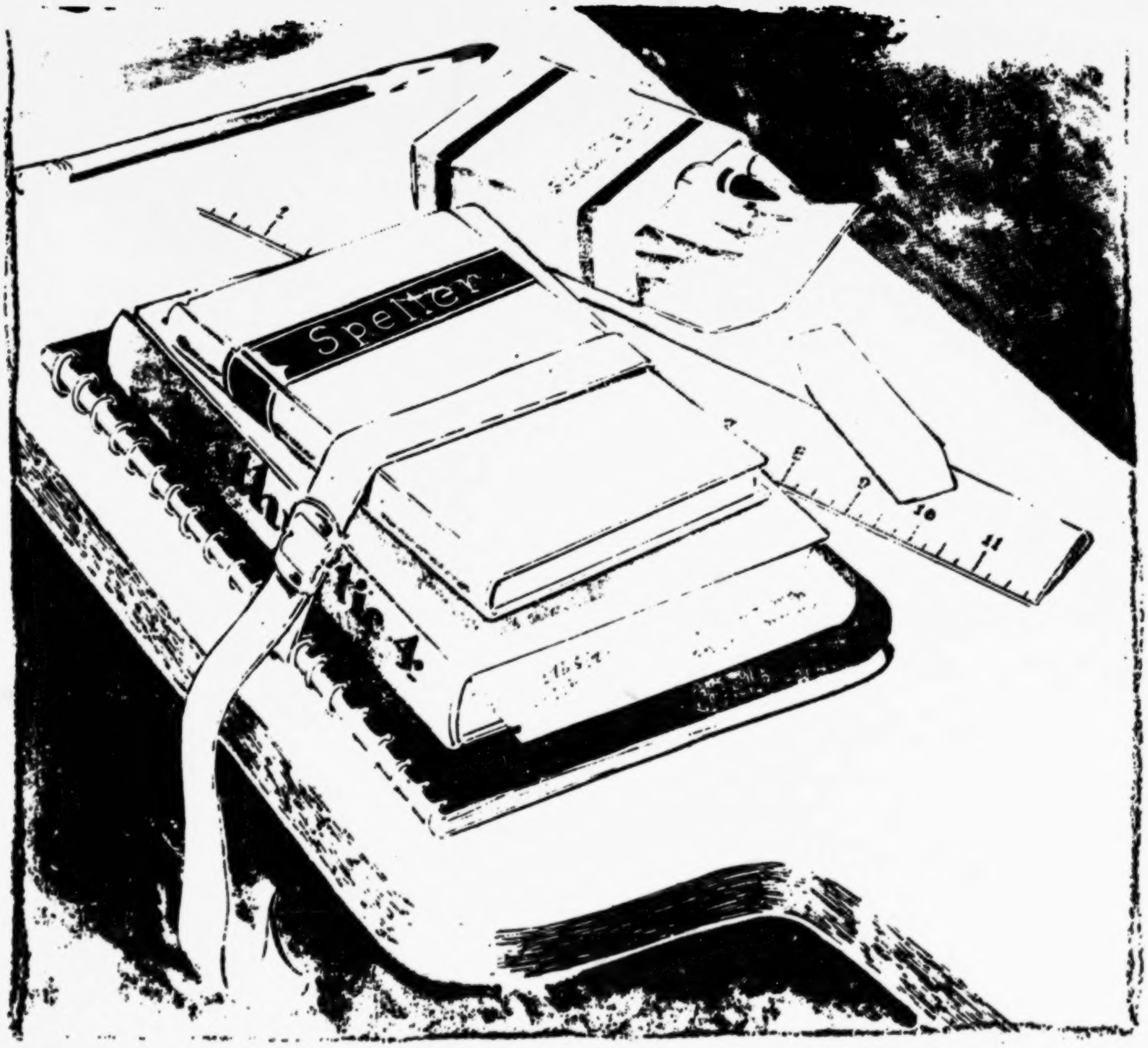
No one in Dallas would try to tell you how to raise your family or handle your private affairs, but we do ask you to teach your children to abide by the law, and to keep Dallas peaceful.

A peaceful and law-abiding city is the best place in which to bring up your children the way you want!

Produced in consultation with the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, the Dallas Bar Association, and the Dallas County Medical Society.

14

DAVISON'S



BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT, IN TODAY'S WORLD, THE MOST IMPORTANT RESOURCES WE POSSESS, PRESENT AND POTENTIAL, ARE PEOPLE. Davison's salutes The Atlanta Public School System with a series of windows dramatizing its past and present achievements. We believe that the future poses a severe test to Georgia, to the United States, to the Western Democratic world, and that this test can only be met by human capacity. These windows have been designed to demonstrate the efforts of our School System to enhance the human capacity of the children of Atlanta: in science, in languages, in civic responsibilities, in cultural appreciation of our American heritage. In these windows, you will see the latest teacher aids to education: closed circuit television, radio-in-education, laboratory experiments, and many others. You will see the daily challenges being posed by our teachers in the world of ideas and creative, intellectual accomplishments. Now, as the Atlanta Public School System stands on the threshold of new tasks and responsibilities, we know the citizens of Atlanta will extend to our School System the united support it needs in helping all the children of Atlanta achieve the true fulfillment of themselves, as well as the true fulfillment of Georgia and the United States in the Western Democratic world.

Reprinted from the Atlanta Journal-Constitution April 21, 1961

Business appeal to the Public (citizens) to Support New School

LABOR UNIONS

In communities which are at all industrialized, labor unions have played a significant role in peaceful transition by cooperating with voluntary and business groups and by educating their own members. The following are suggested as suitable union activities:

1. AFL-CIO President George Meany has already taken a strong, positive stand on peaceful desegregation. His statement, and those of other leading union officials, should be circulated to every union member.

2. Most of the international unions which comprise the AFL-CIO have also taken individual supporting positions. Each local should acquaint the membership of its international's position.

3. The AFL-CIO Education Department has excellent printed material especially slanted to union members. Such material should be distributed through the mail or at union meetings.

4. Some regular union meetings should be set aside to discuss peaceful transition. If you do not have enough local material available, ask the voluntary agencies to supply fact sheets and, if desired, a guest speaker.

5. At such a meeting, circulate petitions for law and order and try to get a resolution passed.

6. An educational meeting of this type should deal

only with preserving law and order and achieving peaceful transition. As noted before, in discussing this subject, keep away from the merits of integration vs. segregation. This means not letting the subject matter wander off into an argument on hiring and firing, job security, seniority, apprenticeship programs and the like.

7. Your union newspaper could run a series of articles, reprints, and editorials on peaceful transition, such as done by the typographical union in Dallas, Exhibit 21.

BULLETIN

Vol. 8, No. 12 Dallas, Texas, July, 1961 45

President's REPORT

By Glen L. Floyd

In line with our policy of community service and public relations participation you will find inserted in this issue of The Bulletin our newest project in detail — collaboration with the Dallas Citizens Council in a program designed to bring about orderly desegregation in Dallas.

Let me hasten to add that the problem facing the individual citizen and the city is removed from the area of personal feeling for or against desegregation and becomes a matter of law and order. We hope that each member will read this insert and determine to cooperate in this very worthwhile project.

The Dallas Citizens Council, a non-political organization dedicated to the advancement of the city of Dallas, is composed of over 250 chief executives of the city's largest corporations.

On Wednesday, May 31, the writer, with John W. (Preacher) Hays, president of the Dallas Allied Printing Trades Council; E. M. Tedford, president of the Operating Engineers; Grady Adkins, president of Bus Drivers; Leslie Hutto, president of the Papermakers, met at the City Club in the Adolphus Towers with C. A. Tatum, president of the Dallas Citizens Council, and Sam Bloom, of the Bloom Advertising Agency. The project was fully explained and everyone present pledged the support of their unions.

On Friday, June 9 the same representatives of organized labor mentioned above, along with Allan Maley,

(Continued on Page 2)

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

(Continued from Page 1)

secretary-treasurer of the Dallas AFL-CIO, attended a luncheon given by the Citizens Council at the Sheraton-Dallas Hotel. Dick West spoke for the Dallas News and Felix McKnight for the Times Herald. Newspaper and television coverage was given this event on Saturday.

We received the Wall Street Journal contract which was reviewed by ITU and approved with minor changes. On June 20 the Wall Street Journal scale committee, assisted by Walter Bieberstein, ITU representative, met with Wall Street Journal management on changes recommended by ITU contract department. No agreement was reached.

We have requested from Elmer Brown 200 copies of his latest booklet, "America Needs Labor Unions." This is a fine treatise explaining the need and advantages offered by organized lavor. We plan to send these to 200 businessmen of Dallas along with a covering letter.

We attended the annual luncheon of the Women's Auxiliary on Tuesday, June 13. We presented the ladies with a check for $500 for their Convention Fund. This money was appropriated for this purpose by the General Convention Committee at their meeting Sunday, June 11. The ladies were very grateful for this assistance and they are planning a first-class program for the lady convention-goers which will redound to the credit of the entire convention. It was a distinct privilege and a pleasure to meet with these charming and gracious ladies. It is to be hoped that more of the wives of the members of DTU No. 173 will join the Woman's Auxiliary. Ladies of the Auxiliary, we are proud of you.

We are making progress in the commercial field to expand our jurisdiction and to exercise our bargaining rights. We have signed up more of the men who have been doing work over which we have jurisdiction but who were not members of our union. This condition has existed for many years in Dallas due to an exception clause being present in has existed for many years in Dallas due our contracts. This demonstrates graphically the importance of deleting the exception clause in all contracts. This we have done in the Wall Street Journal contract.

DALLAS AT THE CROSSROADS

1. Dallas and the Law

The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals has already determined that some degree of integration must begin in Dallas schools this fall. In the absence of an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, this decision is law and, by law, white and Negro children will attend school together in Dallas for the first time.

Further, if Dallas experience parallels that of other Southern cities—and there is no reason to suppose that it will not—the schools are only one area of community life in which Negro leaders will press for change. Restaurants, theaters, increased use of department store facilities, hotels, churches—all are likely targets. Here, as with the schools, the problem may ultimately have to be resolved by law.

2. The American Way

Respect for and acceptance of the law is a vital part of the American tradition. It is also a part of the American tradition that every citizen may hold whatever opinions he chooses on the questions of his time.

Where his opinions differ from the law as defined by the courts, the good citizen does not resort to violence to express his disapproval or attempt to defy the law. He endeavors to change the law by peaceful and orderly means. This is his right as a free American.

In the present problem, brought to a head by the court's decision, the Dallasite is not asked to change his opinion on the subject, may it be "pro" or "con". He is asked to respect the law.

3. The Challenge

Another of the rights of every individual in a free society is to live, work and send his children to school in a peaceful, law-abiding community. This is the area in which the court's decision poses one of its gravest problems: in what climate are the citizens of Dallas, Negro or white, going to face the coming change in a long-established pattern of community life?

Dallas has much to lose if changes in community life are not effected in a peaceful and orderly manner. One has only to consider the order of events and their attendant results in Little Rock and New Orleans as these cities flared into violence, with accompanying national headlines.

4. Violence and the Child's Burden

The price which must be paid by the city which attempts the solution of community problems by violent means is almost beyond reckoning. This price can be expressed in economic terms, through individual business declines and the loss of new or expanded industry for the city; in medical terms, through individual suffering and adverse effects on the health of citizens; in terms of loss of self-respect for both the city and individual citizen.

One of the most serious effects of violence is its reaction upon the children of the community. Where parental guidance and civic leadership fail, and violence flares, the burden of integration falls upon the city's children. They are forced to make adjustments which, without help, often prove beyond their capacities. Lasting emotional injury is the direct result.

5. The Responsibilities of Leadership

One of the vital responsibilities of the community leader is to help condition the community to accept peacefully, without violence, changes in the city's way of life that have been, or may be, made inevitable by law.

One way he can best do this—whether acting as a businessman, a professional man, a civic or law enforcement official, a social leader, or in other community positions—is by setting an example for his neighbors and fellow Dallasities to follow.

In a word, he can stand up and be counted for law and order.

At the same time, he will discourage others from ostracizing those who take a position based not on the "rights" or the "wrongs" of the problem, but on the premise that the law must be peacefully obeyed.

To be successful, a program of conditioning public opinion must have the full support of the community's leaders. The program can then help prepare the citizens of Dallas to accept or to meet any forthcoming change in a peaceful, law-abiding manner, rather than with the brickbats, clubs and agitated picket lines which made Little Rock a synonym for civil disorder

6. Directing the Program of Conditioning

This problem, in one way or another, touches all levels of community life and all members of the community. The attorney, the minister, the teacher, the churchgoer, the parent, the downtown businessman, the bus driver, the law enforcement officer, the civic planner, the elected public official, all are concerned to some degree and in some manner. The program, then, must endeavor to reach all Dallasites, regardless of their individual positions in the community.

We must accept the fact that of over one million people, there will be certain elements of the community whom either the program will not reach or upon whom it will have no effect. From these elements will come individuals who attempt to take the law into their own hands in expressing their convictions. They will fall principally into two categories:

a. The individual who, acting through impulse or sudden anger, commits an act of violence against legally constituted authority. This individual poses the lesser of the two problems likely to face us. He can be promptly apprehended by law enforcement officials and removed from the scene of violence. He will then not only be forced to face the consequences of his action in a court of law, but will also suffer the stigma of being publicly branded as a lawbreaker

b. The individual who seeks self-aggrandizement, publicity and followers. This individual may come either from the community itself, or from outside. Of the two types of individuals who will create civic problems, he is the more to be feared. If peace is to prevail, he must be deprived of all forms of support, including both followers and money.

Here again it is important that community leaders establish the climate of good citizenship, and set the example, for the responsible Dallasite to follow. Then, through pure contrast, the self-seeker will appear as an undesirable, undeserving of public support.

DALLAS' OPPORTUNITY

Now that the courts have rendered their decision for desegregation in Dallas schools, the problem facing the individual citizen and the city is removed from the area of personal feeling for or against desegregation and becomes a matter of law and order.

Every citizen has the privilege to live his life according to his own views so long as he acts within the law. The good citizen does not resort to violence because he disapproves of or dislikes the law—he brings changes about by orderly and legal means. A person who creates civil disorder is a law-breaker, and a bad citizen who deserves the condemnation of his neighbors.

Violence is a problem that affects the whole community and not merely a few isolated segments of the school or business public. Violence destroys a community. It not only disrupts business and education, but undermines the health and moral fiber of all citizens. Extremist elements and self-seeking individuals come into control, and the city's children are forced to bear alone a burden which rightfully is an adult responsibility.

The continued growth of our city, the prosperity and health of each individual and the religious life of the community depend upon each citizen's whole-hearted acceptance of his personal responsibility. Dallas is known throughout the country for outstanding accomplishment and spirit. Sheer pride in our city should inspire us to work together to preserve a prosperous, healthy, and peaceful community.

SETTING AN EXAMPLE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

A civic leader, through his acts, words and social behavior, sets an example. The general public has a right to expect this example from their leaders, and will be inclined to follow it.

For the success of this program, the good citizen must be identifiable both through spoken word and positive action in support of the position established by the Dallas Leadership. Each active example of good citizenship gives the general public a concrete behavior pattern to follow, and supports the individual citizen in his own effort to adjust to the new situation.

In a word, every person in a position of community leadership must stand up and be counted for law and order. By clear comparison, the individual who misbehaves will then be recognized by all as a poor citizen.

THE FAMILY'S RESPONSIBILITY

There is a great difference between public desegregation and personal freedom of association.

In private areas, not related to the law, it is the right and responsibility of each individual family to establish its own values and personal standards. The wise parent prepares his child to accept and adjust to the changed school situation, and at the same time establishes for his child values for private relationships.

Dallas leaders are not attempting to prescribe a personal standard for any individual. This should be resolved by each family as a family matter.

However, we do ask each family to abide by the law and maintain a peaceful community. A climate of civil peace and order is essential if the family is to be able fully and freely to establish its own standards of personal association.

PRODUCED WHOLLY BY DTU MEMBERS TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION LABEL DALLAS, TEXAS BY DTU MEMBERS FOR UNION PURPOSES

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

We have talked so far about the role in peaceful transition of two major groups in the community: private citizens working through voluntary organizations, and businessmen working through Chambers of Commerce, trade associations, and fraternal clubs. But perhaps the most significant role in achieving an appropriate community climate for transition can be played by the church.

Traditionally, we look to our church for leadership and guidance. And in communities which have achieved successful transition, the churches have provided that leadership magnificently. While others can deal with the facts and figures--the economic injury to business or the hazards to the educational system--the church is uniquely qualified to exorcise the destructive passions of hate and fear and thus create an atmosphere where men of good will can work together.

But perhaps your church has chosen not to exercise leadership in this field. Then you, as a concerned member, have an opportunity to join with like-minded laymen to press your church into action. In any case, active laymen and ministers will be interested in what church leadership in other communities has accomplished.

1. In Dallas, the Greater Dallas Council of Churches, in cooperation with the Dallas Bar Association and the Dallas County Medical Society, acted as sponsor for all materials distributed in the community. We have seen some of these, reproduced by the typographical union, previously. Note the clear, forceful language.

2. Mobile Methodist ministers as a group and 26 individual leaders of other faiths issued a statement affirming religious values, Exhibit 22.

3. Similarly, thirty-nine Huntsville ministers called on the State of Alabama and Governor Wallace for law and order, Exhibit 23.

4. Atlanta churchmen of the three major faiths--Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish--designated one day to be set aside as a day of prayer for law and order, with special sermons. The letter of the Catholic Bishop to every pastor in the diocese proclaiming that day is typical of the interfaith cooperation that went into this event, Exhibit 24.

These are just a few random samplings among scores of effective statements by the ministry all over the South. It is obvious that these and other special events which played such a large part in creating a good community spirit did not occur spontaneously. They were the result of months of quiet planning on the part of ministers and laymen working together. Here are some of the preliminary activities that churches undertook.

1. Most state and all national conventions of the various major denominations have already taken a stand for law and order. These public positions should be brought to the attention of the congregation.

2. Many churches sponsor youth groups, young married clubs, study meetings. These are appropriate places to open discussions on the need for peaceful transition. If the members of the Youth Group number high school students about to be in desegregated schools, special sessions should be held to answer their questions

and point the way toward Christian behavior. Out of such lay actions came the widely publicized "A Layman's Letter to His Child," Exhibit 25.

3. Similarly, Sunday School teachers should be given a special briefing so they can talk effectively on this matter to the younger children.

4. Many communities have a ministerial council--some include representatives of the three major faiths: priests, ministers, and rabbis; others are limited to the Protestant denominations. In either case, this is the appropriate place for joint consultation and joint action. The united call for a special day for law and order described above was issued through just such a ministerial council.

5. Ministers in Dallas, Chattanooga, and Atlanta were members of the Boards of Directors of the voluntary citizens groups. Their guidance played a large part in assuring their success. And from their membership, ministers could better gauge the community climate and could inform their congregations of the latest developments.

6. The minister, or a committee of laymen, could circularize the church membership calling for assistance with a specific project--letters to the governor, petitions, resolutions, etc.. Or perhaps membership lists of all churches could be pooled for one general mailing to church members.

7. Many radio and television stations have a prayer at the close of the broadcast day, featuring the pastor of a different denomination each day on a rotating basis. Through agreement of the ministerial council--or by individual decision--some of these

prayers could deal specifically with the need for law and order. Some TV stations set aside part of Sunday for local religious services and sermons. The subject of peaceful transition would be an appropriate one for a TV sermon.

8. Most luncheon and dinner meetings of business, fraternal, civic, and voluntary associations begin with an invocation. Ministers can use this opportunity to speak out for peaceful transition.

9. Many churches publish a local newsletter or bulletin. A brief article by a prominent layman on the need for peaceful transition, perhaps telling how churches of your denomination in other communities have helped, would be very useful.

10. Many churches distribute pertinent pamphlets to their members. Perhaps a member of your denomination has written nationally on the subject of the moral aspects of church leadership in this area. This could be reprinted and given out. If not, perhaps some piece of literature put out by the local voluntary group would be appropriate for the congregation's attention.

The individual organization and character of your own church will no doubt suggest other activities to you. What is important is not so much the particular activity undertaken. It is the spirit of calm, strong leadership imparted. While it is true that the cooperation of the church is essential to achieving peaceful transition, it is equally true that participation in this cause will earn for your church the heightened respect of the thinking community.

(Exhibit 22)

(A majority of Mobile Methodist ministers as a group and 26 individual leaders of other faiths have issued the following statement.)

These are days of tremendous tension and change in the life of our state and of our nation. Because the questions which confront us are moral and spiritual as well as social and political, it is appropriate and necessary that those who occupy places of responsibility should make known their convictions and their beliefs.

The courts have ordered the desegregation of the Mobile County school system. Vast numbers of people are raising questions about what can be done and should be done. Many sincere people oppose these changes and are deeply troubled by them.

We therefore affirm and recommend:

1. That as Americans we have an obligation to obey the law. This obligation applies not only to laws which have been enacted by legislatures but also to decisions which have been rendered by duly established courts.

We recognize the right of individuals and groups to test in court, laws which have been rendered. However, when the courts have spoken and the final decisions have been given, we believe that these decisions must be obeyed.

2. That hatred and violence have no sanction in our religious and political tradition and that defiance of laws and of court orders is neither the right answer nor the solution of our problems.

3. That the public school system must be maintained. It would be disastrous and foolish to close our schools and universities because of disagreement with or opposition to decisions rendered by the courts.

4. That freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved. No individual should be penalized for expressing himself freely so long as he does so with due regard for the rights of others.

5. That our problems cannot be solved in our own strength or in our wisdom alone. The situation which confronts us calls for earnest prayer, for clear thought and for courageous action. We call on all people of good will to join us in seeking divine guidance as we attempt to solve our problems. We must remember that we are one nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all.

In preparing this statement, we have acted as individuals as we do not claim to speak for any organization or institution. At the same time, we believe that the beliefs and convictions which we have expressed are shared by a multitude of our fellow citizens who are deeply troubled by our present situation and who know that hatred, defiance and violence are not the answer to our problems.

September 1, 1963

Individuals who joined Methodist ministers in issuing this statement are:

Rev. Leighton P. Arsnault, rector, Christ Episcopal Church
Rev. William S. Brettmann, curate, Trinity Episcopal Church
Rev. Reeford Chaney, pastor, First Church of the Nazarene
Rev. Lloyd A. Clarke, vicar, St. Luke's Episcopal Church
Dr. John M. Crowell, pastor, Central Presbyterian Church
Dr. D. H. Edington, Jr. pastor, Spring Hill Presbyterian Church
Dr. Norman Godfrey, curate, St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Rev. Watson G. Guy, pastor, Grace Presbyterian Church
Rev. W .D. Hart, director of youth work, Spring Hill Presbyterian Church
Dr. Massey Mott Heltzel, pastor, Government Street Presbyterian Church.
Rev. D. Holmes Irving, rector, Trinity Episcopal Church
Rev. Richard L. Kell, associate pastor, Central Presbyterian Church
Rev. James M. McDaniel, minister of education, Government Street Presbyterian Church
Rev. William S. Mann, rector, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Spring Hill
Rev. John S. Marks, vicar, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Daphne
Rev. Finley C. Patton, pastor, Overlook Presbyterian Church
Dr. Howard M. Reaves, pastor, First Baptist Church of Mobile
Rev. William E. Shenk, pastor, Cottage Hill Presbyterian Church
Rev. Benjamin B. Smith, rector, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church
Rev. Charles L. Smith, director of church extension, Mobile Presbytery
Rev. John W. B. Thompson, Jr., rector, Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd
Rev. Francis B. Wakefield, Jr., rector All Saints Episcopal Church
Rev. John E. Waller, vicar, St. Matthew's Episcopal Church
Rev. L. W. Warren, Jr., associate pastor, Government Street Presbyterian Church
Rev. Joseph D. C. Wilson, retired Episcopal minister residing at Foley, Alabama
Rev. Hoyt Winslett, Jr., curate, All Saints Episcopal Church

(Exhibit 23)

BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD — Friday, October 19, 1962 — PAGE 15

39 Huntsville Ministers Ask Law And Order

HUNTSVILLE, Oct. 18 (AP) — Thirty-nine ministers in Huntsville issued a resolution today appealing for law and order in any racial integration attemtps in Alabama.

The resolution, mailed to Gov.-Nominate George C. Wallace and others in the incoming administration, said in part:

"Although there are sincere people who disagree with the changing social pattern which will soon bring about the desegregation of the university and schools of Alabama we nevertheless feel that definance is neither the answer nor the solution, nor are inflamatory and rebellious statements the type of preparation that will save us from violence discord and confusion."

No public schools in Alabama are now integrated but a hearing on a school integration suit is now in recess in Birmingham.

The resolution, stating that responsible men in churches "should not be silent concerning their convictions," set forth six items it referred to as affirmations:

—Hatred and violence have no place in religious and political traditions.

—Laws may be changed by Legislatures but not ignored.

—No person is safe unless the liberty of all is protected.

—Good will is dependent on man's relationship to God.

—All human beings are entitled to respect and basic rights.

—Disagreement over social change does not demand anarchy.

The resolution urged those interested in the desegregation controversy and questions of states rights, interposition and constitutional government to pursue those questions in the courts and abide peacefully by their decision.

(Exhibit 24)

Masses Requested On Integration

Atlanta Diocese Churches Urged To Pray Sunday for Law, Order

Roman Catholic priests in all churches in the Atlanta Diocese have been requested by their bishop to offer a Mass next Sunday, observing that day as one of prayer for law and order before the integration of Atlanta public schools.

In a letter read from the pulpits of Catholic churches in the diocese Sunday, the Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland, bishop of the diocese, also requested that each pastor invoke "the powerful intercession of Our Blessed Lady by the public recitation of her Litany" at all the masses.

Bishop Hyland

• • •

THE BISHOP'S LETTER said next Sunday would be designated as a day of prayer for law and order "in the hope . . . that the integration of the Atlanta schools will be achieved not only peacefully, but with honor, with dignity and in a manner that will enhance the good name of our city. . . ."

The letter said that during the last week of August, when public schools open, "and for some time thereafter, the eyes of the nation and the world will be focused on Atlanta. Atlanta must not fail this challenge. With the help of Almighty God, humbly and earnestly invoked by her citizens of all faiths, Atlanta cannot and will not fail."

• • •

RECOGNIZING that "respect for and acceptance of law" and "maintenance of public order" are at stake, the letter added that "much more is at stake in this venture.

"We must not be unmindful of the fact that the principle of justice and brotherly love are also most intimately involved," the letter said.

"These considerations should inspire each and every one of us to participate wholeheartedly and fervently in the day of prayer for law and order on Sunday next."

The day of prayer will also be observed in many Protestant churches throughout the city next Sunday and, earlier in the weekend, by Jewish and Seventh-Day Adventist congregations.

(Exhibit 25)

A LAYMAN'S LETTER TO HIS CHILD

Soon you will be going back to school again. That day you will stand alone. You depend now upon me for guidance in your conduct as the schools are desegregated.

You depend now upon my years, my judgment, and whatever godliness I possess to guide you as I have cherished and instructed you from the cradle.

Therefore, as a layman who worships Almighty God, and who acknowledges our need for a peace and guidance greater than the world gives, I say to you:

This change is now come, and I counsel you to accept it with dignity, doing no act of defiance or ill manners, which can reflect on you, your faith, your rearing, or your community.

No matter where I may have stood in the debates of my generation, I now counsel you to cling to the Golden Rule and to meet the unfamiliar with calmness, dignity and peace;

To recognize that obedience to the rules of law, which bring order to our family society, is rooted in our spiritual faith, and must be respected and revered;

To hold fast to our teaching that hatred, lack of charity, and scorn for any human is unworthy of us;

And to accept this change prayerfully, praying with me that we be not fearful but sustained; not vengeful but understanding; not wilful but worthy; not faithless but assured of God's grace to help and guide us;

And that in this my judgment, governing your lifetime more than mine, I may be in the memory of you who are God's matchless gift to me, not small, but godly.

PREPARATION BY THE SCHOOLS

Whether you are a member of a voluntary group working for peaceful transition, or active with businessmen, or a church leader, your efforts have been directed toward preparing the community at large to accept transition peacefully and to creating an atmosphere where law and order reign.

Paralleling this community preparation must be preparation by the school authorities. If your efforts in the whole community have been successful, the wishes of the citizens will have penetrated the school administration and it, too, will be preparing students and teachers.

But school preparation is not a matter to be taken for granted. The citizens have a responsibility to work with the school administration. If the school superintendent and school board are committed to peaceful desegregation, they will welcome cooperation from the community. If they are somewhat indecisive, they need your help in bolstering their resolve, and a united citizens' group--businessmen, churchmen and voluntary agencies--should request consultation with them. If they are actively hostile, they especially need consultation to let them know that lack of preparation is unacceptable to the responsible members of the community.

In any case, you can make a significant contribution to successful transition by bringing to the attention of school authorities the techniques which have helped other school systems.

1. Selected teachers could be sent to visit already desegregated systems to learn first hand some of the problems, to confer with other teachers, and to observe classroom work.

2. The school system should initiate a series of lectures for every teacher affected on her role in peaceful transition. Such lectures might include: the historical and legal background; what to expect from parents and students; what some of the special problems of the transferred students will be; how to create a good classroom atmosphere; how to resolve conflicts, etc.. The series run by the Chattanooga school system, Exhibit 26, is a model. It utilized outside guest speakers, films, booklets, museum exhibits, and covered broad areas of interest to all teachers.

3. Every student should be made aware of his responsibilities. This can be done at special school assemblies conducted by the principal, in home classrooms, in the school newspapers.

Well in advance, students should be made to understand, with no possibility of misinterpretation, that rowdy, fractious behavior will be followed by swift, stringent disciplinary action. This is most important. If students get the idea that the administration will wink at small infractions, i.e., spitball throwing and name calling as examples of "boyish pranks," the time well might come when the spitballs become stones and the name calling an incitement to riot. Initial manifestations of bad citizenship must be nipped in the bud, hard.

In Atlanta, students themselves took the initiative and prepared a good citizenship pledge, Exhibit 27, which was circulated throughout the school and signed by thousands of students. This is perhaps the best method of securing student cooperation.

4. Every parent should be informed as to what desegregation of her child's school will mean and how she (or he) is expected to cooperate. Special PTA meetings should deal with the subject, with full and free discussion so that parents may ask questions and have their fears dispelled. These meetings should be addressed by principals, the superintendent, or members of the school board.

5. The school principal should send a notice to every parent shortly before school opening, setting forth in detail the school's plans for opening day, stating the ground rules for parking, telephoning, special arrival times, new procedures, and the like. The letter should ask the parent's cooperation not only in following these rules, but by setting his child an example of good citizenship and respect for the law in the home itself. (Exhibit 28.)

6. The Superintendent should make sure that his principals have arranged beforehand plans concerning the newly transferred students, including such matters as transportation, assignment to classrooms, traffic patterns. The transferred students should be taken through the school several days before opening day to make sure they understand where everything is and what is expected of them. They should meet their new teachers at this time.

7. In order to make it possible to conduct school affairs in a normal, businesslike way during the opening days, the following ground rules should be considered:

a) No unauthorized persons--whether newsmen legitimately covering the story, or just curiosity seekers--should be permitted in the school buildings. Police officers will have the responsibility of maintaining order outside the school, but school authorities will want to cooperate by issuing special parking tickets or passes to authorized school personnel and thus screen out intruders.

b) No loitering by students in the corridors or yards or lavatories. Students should be directed to stay inside the classrooms or to proceed directly to their change of class without congregating and interrupting the flow of school traffic.

c) A special effort should be made to fit the transferred students smoothly into non-classroom situations such as the school cafeteria and use of lavatory facilities. If they are allowed to be isolated, they will become more of a center of attention and perhaps a focus of trouble. Perhaps selected teachers and student leaders could be briefed on helping to make this part of the transition trouble-free.

d) One previously designated person should act as school spokesman to the newspaper reporters and television cameramen. He should prepare a factual report of progress during opening days. Unauthorized interviews by newsmen of students on school grounds should be prohibited. A letter covering these points was issued to newsmen by the Atlanta system. It helped make the transition smooth, and newsmen were not resentful because the school system cooperated with them in making factual material available as soon as it happened, Exhibit 29.

8. Some of these suggestions are embodied in the plan used by the Atlanta school system, Exhibit 30.

9. In addition to covering all the foregoing by conferences, PTA meetings, written memoranda and directives, the school superintendent or the school board, or leading citizens, or all together, might want to inform the entire community of its plans by television. One form such a presentation might take would be to have parents ask

this panel of educators the questions most likely to be on the minds of parents. Calm, knowledgeable answers which demonstrate to the entire community that adequate precautions and preparations have been taken would help create favorable conditions for school opening.

10. Not all the preparation can be handled officially by the school system. For example, PTA officers might want to invite the parents of transferred children to a small tea or coffee to discuss special problems their children might face and to invite the parents into PTA membership.

11. A church group might volunteer its members to act as unofficial sponsors to the transferred students. These sponsors might be helpful if the children could confide any difficulties concerning strange curricula or problems with their new school mates. All children, Negro or white, are reluctant to "tattle" to the authorities, but a trusted confidante might be able to pinpoint otherwise unreported trouble before it gets out of hand.

(Exhibit 26 - Page 1)

SUGGESTED SIX MONTHS' PLAN FOR PREPARING FOR DESEGREGATION OF CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
February 19 -- September 1, 1962
Leader -- Individual Principal

Date: Feb. 19
Topic: Report from Superintendent
Resources*: Kinescope of Dr. Carmichael's Television Presentation January 18 and 19
Description: Status--community support--challenge

Date: Feb. 26
Topic: Introductory Session
Description: Primarily factual and historical in nature--constitutional provisions--the Bill of Rights--the 14th Amendment--the Plessy-Ferguson Case--legal and litigative court decisions, laws, etc.--the 1954 Supreme Court decision--factors on which it was based--recent desegregation activities in other areas than elementary and secondary education, such as higher education, public accommodations, etc.--the history of Chattanooga race relations--facts and figures on comparative white and Negro populations and proportion and numerical growth or decrease in each--school population statistics--Chattanooga school desegregation activities such as court hearings, submitted plans, etc.--moral, educational aspects.

Date: March 5
Topic: Action Patterns in School Desegregation
Resources: Individual Principal and Teacher
Description: Review of Phi Delta Kappa book on Action Patterns--Is preparation necessary?--comprehensive approach to preparing for desegregation--school people's role in preparation for desegregation--responsibilities of individuals and groups for carrying out a plan for desegregation--the instructional program--pupil personnel problems--student activities and social affairs.

Date: March 12
Topic: Community Support
Resources: Community leaders obtained from Mayor's Committee, Speaker's Bureau
Description: Would include discussion of the history of Chattanooga race relations, community reaction to the action of the Board of Education since 1954, the response of the community to the hearings in Federal Court February 1 and 2, and predicted community support.

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*Single copies of films, filmstrips, booklets, etc., available in Materials Center.

(continued)

Date: March 19
Topic: How to Put on a Rumor Clinic
Resources: Rumor clinic film and instructions for filmstrip
See film
Description: One teacher to work with group of students to be followed up in individual classroom discussion:

a. How great the changes and distortions in a report can become as the story is passed along from person to person;
b. How the changes take place, even when there is no desire on the part of the people involved to distort what they heard or saw;
c. Why rumors can never be accepted as fact until they are checked, and why they must be checked so carefully before they are made the basis for any action.

Date: March 26
Topic: Physical and Cultural Differences - Inheritance
Resources: Exhibit prepared by Carnegie Museum. See filmstrip.
Description: An exhibit prepared by Carnegie Museum to show some factors of intergroup relationships.

Date: April 2
Topic: Community Preparation
Resources: Superintendent's Staff, Teachers, Leaders in PTA
Description: Coping with the anxious parent--interpreting to the community what is happening and what is going to happen--consideration of actual and assumed problems likely to arise and methods to cope with them--cooperation with and use of the PTA.

Date: April 9
Topic: Preparation of Pupils
Resources: Superintendent's Staff, Principals, Teachers, Community Social Workers
Description: Consideration of curriculum revision--classroom discussion before the fact--determining athletics, social and other arrangements prior to desegregation, as well as after--consideration of matters such as seating, grouping, academic "standards," adjustment of different cultural backgrounds where they exist--super-sensitivity of majority and minority group children vis-a-vis discipline and alleged discrimination--coping with incidents, keeping minor ones from flaring up into major concerns and handling realistically those which really are major--being sensitive to ostracism and "the freeze" by children--utilizing special talents.

(continued)

(Exhibit 26 - Page 3)

Date: April 16
Topic: Race
Resources: Pamphlet "What We Know About Race" and Film "Brotherhood of Man"
Description: The biological, social, psychological, anthropological, historical and similar related aspects of the Negro community and the American society.

Date: April 23
Topic: The Minority Group Member (The American Negro)
Resources: Films "A Morning for Jimmy" and "The Burden of Truth"
Description: The problems faced by minority groups--their reactions to them--the psychology of being a minority group member--"What minority groups want."

Date: April 30
Topic: Prejudice and Discrimination
Resources: Film "The High Wall" and pamphlets "The ABC's of Scapegoating" and "Prejudice and Society"
Description: The causes of prejudice--how it manifests itself in discriminatory acts--the cost to the American community.

Date: May 7
Topic: Human Relations and Social Class
Resources: Book "Who Shall Be Educated" by Havighurst, et al., Allison Davis studies, W. Lloyd Warner studies, etc.
Description: The key factors in and the determination of social class divisions in American society--socio-economic stereotypes which are applied to minority and majority groups--relationship of socio-economic status to "intelligence."

Date: May 14
Topic: The Teacher, the Classroom and the Schools
Resources: "Point of View" film by Dr. William Van Til
Description: Sound education practices in teaching good intergroup relations and in promoting good intergroup relations--the role of the teacher--some successful approaches--the moral, legal, religious and other roots for these.

Date: May 21
Topic: Techniques--Socio-Drama
Resources: Dr. Ulrey Wilson, Dr. Stanley Williams, U.C.
Description: A group participation technique for resolving conflicts, starting discussion and gathering information--role playing as a classroom skill--underlying concepts--functional operation.

(continued)

Date: May 28
Topic: Classroom Techniques--Socio-Metrics
Resources: Nolan Estes, Division of Instruction Staff
Description: The construction of a sociogram--determining patterns of friendship within the classroom and/or any other group.

BASIC RESOURCES EVERYONE SHOULD READ:

1. What We Know About "Race"
2. ABC's of Scapegoating
3. Prejudice and Society
4. Action Patterns in School Desegregation

(Exhibit 27)

A CODE OF ETHICS
Proposed by youth groups of OASIS
(Organizations Assisting Schools in September)

August 30, 1961

"I will strive

...to live my religious faith in regard to the brotherhood of man, and the Fatherhood of God

...to understand and appreciate each individual in terms of his unique personality

...to remember to practice the teachings of courtesy, friendliness, and fair play

...to behave as a responsible, democratic citizen, in obedience to law and order

...to bring honor to my community, to my school, and to my classmates."

(Exhibit 28 - Page 1)

COPY

HENRY GRADY HIGH SCHOOL
929 Charles Allen Drive, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Office of the Principal

August 17, 1961

To the Parents of All Students
of Henry Grady High School

Dear Parents:

As you know, the Federal courts have ordered desegregation of Atlanta high schools. Two Negro students have been transferred to Henry Grady High School.

The purpose of this letter is to inform you of certain precautions in connection with the opening days of school and to ask your co-operation in the observance of these regulations and with all our efforts to provide the education which is your children's right.

The following information and precautionary measures are for your guidance and for the welfare of the students of this school:

1. All students will report to school on Wednesday, August 30, for a full and regular day from 8:30 A.M. to 3:10 P.M. On Tuesday, August 29, the new 8th grade and other students new to the school who have not previously registered will report for orientation and registration. Tuesday, August 29, is also available for parents wishing to discuss student schedules or pertinent problems with school personnel.
2. Parents desiring a conference with the principal, counselors, or teachers should arrange an appointment at any time before August 30 or after September 7. Non-school adults will not be admitted to the school building for an indefinite period beginning August 30.
3. A sufficient number of police officers and detectives will be on duty at, or in the vicinity of, the school for the safety and protection of the students, to maintain order, and to regulate and control both pedestrian and automobile traffic.
4. Spectators, sightseers, and loiterers will not be allowed to assemble, either on foot or in automobiles, in the vicinity of the school. Adults will not be allowed to park in the immediate neighborhood of the school.
5. Students, provided there are no adults in the car, will be allowed to park in the customary places except that no parking will be allowed on Charles Allen Drive between 8th and 10th Streets.

6. All students will be expected and required to report immediately to their old homerooms or to the cafeteria immediately upon their arrival at school. Positively no loitering or congregating of students will be permitted in cars, yards, corridors, toilets, or stairways.
7. Students will not be allowed to bring cameras or radios into the school building until further notice.
8. We are asking too that use of the telephones be limited to emergencies. We hope you will not call the school during this period except for illness or dire extremity.
9. Traffic regulations, particularly as apply to driver licenses, will be enforced.
10. The flow and pattern of automobile traffic in the vicinity of the school will remain unchanged except that no parking will be allowed on Charles Allen Drive between 8th and 10th Streets. This is the portion of the street directly in front of the building.

We believe you can render a great contribution to our school and to our students by your own example of patience and understanding. We believe you can help in creating and maintaining an attitude of good citizenship and respect for law.

Every effort will be made to protect your sons and daughters. We are optimistic in our belief that there will be no disorder caused by our students. This belief rests squarely on a faith in our excellent students as they reflect the fine training of the homes and parents of Henry Grady High School.

When the chips were down Henry Grady has always "come through."

I believe that Henry Grady High School will again come through in a way that will earn the praise of the whole city and the whole world!

Sincerely yours,

S/R. H. Derthick

R. H. Derthick
Principal

(Exhibit 29)

COPY

ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
City Hall
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Administrative Offices

The first obligation of the Atlanta schools is to provide educational opportunities for pupils enrolled. A further responsibility is to seek in every way possible to assure pupils' safety and welfare as they go about the business of obtaining the education which is their right. It is hoped that the first day of school will be as normal as possible. As a step in this direction the following policies are established with the belief that they will contribute substantially to our goal of serving the best interests of the students and of the public welfare:

1. School buildings, grounds and premises, and adjacent sidewalks at Brown, Murphy, Henry Grady, and Northside High Schools are off limits to all persons except students of the school and professional and maintenance personnel.
2. News representatives carrying special cards issued by the Chief of Police will be permitted to assemble across the street from school premises. No one will be permitted to congregate or assemble in the streets adjacent to these schools. Cars may stop to discharge passengers but will be required to move on.
3. News representatives are requested to respect the fact that students are under the legal responsibility of the school from the time they leave home until their return home at the conclusion of the school day. It is requested that students be contacted only at their homes. Students will not be permitted to talk with news representatives while at school.
4. It is requested that principals and teachers not be contacted during the school day. Official contacts will be made at the City Hall news room at intervals throughout the day.
5. The official opening hour of the schools is 8:30. Negro students transferring to the high schools have been requested to report to school a few minutes after the opening hour. The closing hour is 3:10 P.M. Transfer students will be permitted to leave a few minutes before the closing hour.
6. Complete and accurate news will be provided throughout the day from the news center at the City Hall.

S/J.W. Letson

John W. Letson
Superintendent of Schools

J:S:ejh
8-29-61

(Exhibit 30)

SECURITY AND PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES ON OPENING DAYS AT BROWN, HENRY CRADY, MURPHY AND NORTHSIDE HIGH SCHOOLS

A. General

The following conditions and procedures should prevail in all four of the high schools:

I. The most careful attention must be directed to the proper scheduling and programming of the transferred students....

* * *

Transferred students are to be transported to and from their respective schools in one car....

II. Principals and teachers will be held accountable for the good order of students on the school grounds and in the school buildings. To reduce opportunities for confusion and disorder the following are considered to be necessary regulations:

(a) Students will report directly to designated areas---homerooms, auditoriums, or cafeterias, as determined by the principal. Under no circumstances should students be allowed to loiter on sidewalks, parking areas, yards, corridors, or toilets.

(b) A selected group of teachers should be on assigned duty with the principal at the building as early as the building is open. All teachers are to be in their homerooms or assigned stations before 8:00 A.M. Students should not be permitted to leave their homerooms without good cause.

(c) A carefully detailed schedule for the day should be determined and communicated to the faculty and students in order to reduce uncertainty and confusion about the length of periods, traffic, recess assignments, and so on.

(d) Principals and teachers will not have time to give to conferences with parents or to other visitors on the opening days. Parents should be informed of this fact politely but firmly.

(e) Constant scrutiny should be directed to preventing strangers, former students, and adults from access to or traffic in the building or on school premises. Two plainclothes detectives in each building will be available to enforce this regulation.

(f) Students should not be permitted to bring cameras or radios into the school building.

III. Despite the necessity for every precaution the principal and teachers should create and maintain a psychological climate calculated to reduce tension and excitement. To the highest degree possible, a normal, businesslike, and unstrained atmosphere should prevail.

IV. Principals are directed to write a letter to parents of students to inform them of safety measures and to solicit their help. The letter should request that necessary parent conferences be scheduled prior to the opening of school or after September 6; the letter should inform the parents about traffic patterns and restrictions and special conditions; and the letter should convey a note of assurance and optimism.

B. The News Media
   I. Newspapermen, photographers, radio and television personnel will not be allowed in the school buildings, on the school premises, or on the sidewalks or streets adjacent to school premises. This is to say that the sidewalk on the opposite side of the street is the nearest limit to which representatives of the news media will be allowed. Students will not be permitted to loiter near, or talk with, news representatives while at school. Representatives of the news media will carry press cards issued by the Chief of Police. All others will be required to move on.
   II. Area Superintendents will transmit, or authorize transmission by designated personnel, periodic releases of news and developments--good or bad, favorable or unfavorable--to a central receiving station at the City Hall. In the absence of a later plan, an amplifying attachment will be installed to central telephones to enable reporters to obtain news which is more complete and accurate than will be available from the sidewalk opposite the school. Straight telephone lines will be installed to insure immediate and uninterrupted opportunity for communication.

C. Police Protection

   I. Specific objectives
      (a) To insure a safe and efficient flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic in the vicinity of the school.
      (b) To prevent the formation of groups--loiterers, curiosity seekers, mobs, or even observers--on school yards, sidewalks, streets in or about the vicinity of the school.
      (c) To keep traffic--in automobiles or on foot--moving.
      (d) To screen out all unauthorized persons seeking entrance to school premises and buildings. Only school personnel and students will be authorized entrance.
      (e) To enable, in general, the school to carry out its legal function without harm or interference.
   II. Personnel
      (a) Two detectives in plain clothes inside each building.
      (b) Regular traffic policemen plus such additional personnel as may be necessary to handle added traffic problems.
      (c) Officer in charge to maintain local communication with assigned police personnel through utilization of walkie-talkies.
      (d) Adequate mobile units--motorcycle, wagon, cruise cars.
      (e) Reserve details with special equipment.

III. Scope of Supervision
   (a) Full police supervision of each school 24 hours each day, including use of K-9 detail at night.

D. Individual Schools

I. Brown High School
   (a) Issuance of special parking stickers to faculty for use in gaining admission to facilities at rear of building--with entrances from both Peeples and Beecher Streets.
   (b) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
   (c) Traffic flow as customary. Parking in legal spaces as customary.

II. Henry Grady High School
This building will require a larger detail because of the easy accessibility of the 26 different entrances to the building.
   (a) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
   (b) Traffic flow as follows:
      (1) 10th St. as customary
      (2) Monroe Drive as customary
      (3) Charles Allen Drive--between 8th St. and 10th St.--open to traffic to discharge passengers only. Positively no parking.
      (4) 8th St.--between Monroe Dr. and Charles Allen Drive--normal traffic conditions. Cars to discharge passengers but not permitted to block traffic. Normal and legal parking.
   (c) Issuance of parking cards to faculty members for entrance to parking areas on school grounds.
   (d) Students allowed to park in stadium and gym area if not accompanied by adult. No parking on Charles Allen Drive between 8th and 10th Streets.

III. Murphy High School
   (a) Issuance of special parking cards to faculty for use in gaining admission to facilities in rear of building.
   (b) Traffic policemen at Memorial and Clifton, in front of school building, and in front of gym.
   (c) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
   (d) Traffic flow as customary. Parking in legal spaces as customary.
   (e) Restrict passage to rear of building to school personnel and students.

IV. Northside High School
   (a) Issuance of special parking cards to faculty for use in gaining admission to facilities in front and side of building.

(Exhibit 30 - Page 4)

(b) Sufficient police officers will be assigned to and around the school to maintain safe traffic conditions and to protect the safety and welfare of the students.
(c) Traffic flow as customary. Parking in legal spaces as customary.
(d) Restrict passage to parking lot in front and on side to school personnel and students. Adults without parking cards not admitted.
(e) Pedestrian and vehicular traffic kept moving on Kingwood Lane.

THE ROLE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

Conscientious parents can be counted on to keep abreast of the educational picture in their community. Because their children attend the public schools, they make it their business to know the teachers, the principal, something about the school board and the system's educational policies in general.

Similarly, conscientious voters keep a sharp eye on local civic officials. They know that administrative decisions may affect their home lives, their businesses, the well-being of the community.

But most citizens are in the dark when it comes to the police department. They do not get into trouble with the law and their paths seldom cross. They do not know whether their police are competent or incompetent, honest or dishonest, undermanned or overstaffed, underpaid or overpaid. Most people's reaction to the police is limited to grumbling about parking tickets: "Why don't they go out and catch some crooks instead of bothering honest people?"

This widespread apathy can spell tragedy for the community. Sometimes, as in Denver, a major scandal which demolishes civic confidence can break before citizens get to know their police department.

Sometimes, the efforts of an honest, efficient department are ignored; voters turn down adequate police raises and trained, career police officers must turn bitterly to more rewarding pursui

This point is made at some length because good police work can play a key role in successful transition. If your police department is an unknown quantity to responsible citizens, the time to establish contact is now. And the first thing to let your department know is that you are interested in its welfare and will continue to be interested after any transitional crisis is past.

A committee of citizens calling on the Police Chief could also bring to his attention the successful methods of handling transition employed by other communities.

1. Selected officers might be sent to the annual National Institute on Police-Community Relations. Here police officers can gain new insights into how best to handle the delicate problems of transition.

2. The entire police force should be given a simplified course in the legal and historical background of the particular issue in which they may be active, whether school desegregation, opening of public facilities, picketing, demonstrations, etc.. Perhaps a respected local attorney might lecture on what public activities are legal and what are prohibited.

3. Many Southern police officers have dealt with Negroes only when they are in trouble with the law. That, plus their personal backgrounds, may make them think automatically of a youthful Negro picket as a "rowdy," subject to disciplinary handling, even though the picketing may be quite legal. At the same time, he may tend to shrug off such incitements as rock-throwing, name-calling, physical roughing up on the part of white boys as "boys will be boys." That such police attitudes exist, that they can make a troubled situation infinitely worse, should be thoroughly

explored, with full opportunity for questions and answers in departmental meetings.

4. In the case of school desegregation, advance planning is the key to smooth operation. School areas should be mapped and off-limits areas designated and made known to the public. The failure to maintain law and order in New Orleans, for example, came partly because mobs were permitted to assemble right opposite the school grounds to threaten pupils and parents. It is a well-known psychological truth that deprived of a direct target, the will of the mob tends to dissipate. Thus, violence might have been averted if the crowd had been permitted to congregate out of sight of the schools, thus protecting the children while not denying the right of peaceful assembly.

5. Each policeman on special assignment to the schools should know exactly where he is supposed to be and what his responsibilities are. This might mean keeping newsmen and curiosity seekers off school grounds, maintaining liaison with school authorities inside the building, rerouting traffic, etc.. In making these detailed assignments to police officers, Chief Jenkins of the Atlanta Police Department succinctly summarized the responsibilities of police officers and quoted the City Ordinance under which the special assignment was made, concluding with the reminder that it was the Police Department's responsibility to maintain peace and good order. (Exhibit 31.)

6. High police officials should join with other public servants in letting the people know that law and order will be preserved. By making it perfectly clear in advance that law-breakers will be taken into custody and prosecuted (and, of course, just

what the rules are) the trouble may be prevented before it begins. The Police Chief could also join with the Mayor and other officials in a television appeal to civic pride.

7. A list of known or potential trouble-makers should be drawn up in advance and their activities given special surveillance.

(Exhibit 31)

ATLANTA POLICE DEPARTMENT
SPECIAL NOTICE AND ASSIGNMENTS

H. T. Jenkins, Chief of Police

The Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools has original and complete jurisdiction to operate the public schools in the City of Atlanta.

In accordance with Federal and State regulations, and under orders from the Federal Courts, the Atlanta Schools will be desegregated when schools open on August 30, 1961.

If any person or persons object to the manner and method of operations of the Atlanta Public Schools, those objections must be made to the Superintendent of Schools' office at the City Hall, and under no circumstances will objections, discussions or disturbances be permitted at any of the individual schools.

Local and state laws have always surrounded and provided special protection for public worship and public schools. Section 36.14 of the City Code forbids disturbing public schools and states that "no person, at or near any public school, shall, by conversation, sign or otherwise, engage the attention of any of the pupils, to the disturbance of such school."

The highest value of the law is the keeping of the peace--the Atlanta Police Department has full responsibility and authority to maintain the peace and good order over the entire city and especially at and around the schools. Attached hereto are special school assignments.

THE ROLE OF ELECTED OFFICIALS

The American genius for diversity can be seen by the multiplicity of forms of municipal government. Some cities have mayors, others city managers, commissioners, joint boards of aldermen, city councils, town boards, joint-city-county management--all with various functions and varying degrees of autonomy. A mayor's job may be that of chief administrative officer or chief salesman for the virtue of his city. How intense a part any elected official can play in achieving peaceful transition depends therefore not only on personal conviction but on how your city government is organized. Before approaching elected officials, find out to whom you should talk. Your League of Women Voters or your Municipal League can help you here.

But no matter what the setup is, there are certain minimum responsibilities which city officials can undertake in response to the united will of respected citizens.

1. The Mayor and other high elected officials should issue calls for law and order. A series of statements to various groups --school children, parents, businessmen and the like--should precede school opening.

2. The Mayor's office should request from the Police Department its advance plan for school opening, making sure that it is not only effective in handling crowds and directing traffic, but that it respects the rights of all citizens.

3. The Mayor should confer with the School Board and school administrators to make certain that their plans inside the school buildings are adequate.

4. The Mayor should make certain that there are adequate facilities available to the press, if any reporters from out of town are to cover the story, and that his office stands ready to release factual material as needed.

But beyond these basic minimums, a creative elected official can do much to coordinate and educate. If your community is fortunate enough to have such an official, his office could be invaluable in:

1. serving as consultant or mediator in settling conflicts concerning desegregation of public or private facilities--settling them quietly, without publicity which can harm the city;

2. releasing official statistics which relate progress in business, population growth, attraction of industry, educational growth, etc., to peaceful transition (an elected official is in an excellent position to know where the town is going and the townspeople will respect this source);

3. making it perfectly clear that he backs vigorous law enforcement by the police department and that your community has too much of a future for it to be jeopardized by law-breakers and rabble-rousers;

4. having an unofficial observer invited to attend the deliberations of religious, business and voluntary agencies so that his office will be fully briefed.

A UNITED EFFORT FOR LAW AND ORDER

Let us assume that as a leader in a voluntary group or a church organization or a businessmen's association you have spent many busy weeks preparing for peaceful transition. You are familiar--perhaps all too familiar--with coffees, steering committee meetings, open meetings, resolutions, petitions, press releases. But at last you are beginning to see that your efforts are producing a perceptible change in the atmosphere--from apathy to interest, from "Let George do it" to "How can I help?"

Now, how can you insure the success of your work? We are speaking now not only of superficial success--that is, the temporary control of trouble-makers. We are speaking of something more meaningful: the attitude of a majority of responsible citizens in your community that the achievement of peaceful transition is a positive step forward in which they can take pride, and that overt defiance of the law of the land is socially unacceptable and will not be tolerated.

A community-wide event for law and order will dramatize this sentiment and help solidify it.

Representatives of all the voluntary, business, and religious groups should sit down together and work out a joint plan to bring peaceful transition to the attention of every single citizen. For the purposes of such a community-wide event, it might be well if these representatives could form themselves into an ad hoc committee which would number members from every element in the